

PREFACE.

BY W. T. FRANKLIN.

AN apology for presenting to the Republic of Letters the authentic memorials of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, illustrative of his Life and Times, written almost entirely with his own hand, would be at once superfluous and disrespectful. If any observation be at all requisite, in the shape of explanation, it must be in answer to the inquiry, why such interesting documents have been so long withheld from public view? To this the Editor has no hesitation in replying, that were he conscious of having neglected a solemn trust, by disobeying a positive injunction; or could he be convinced, that the world has sustained any real injury by the delay of the publication, he certainly should take shame to himself for not having sooner committed to the press, what at an earlier period, would have been much more to his pecuniary advantage. But aware, as he is, of the deference due to the general feeling of admiration for the illustrious dead, he is no less sensible that there are *times* and *seasons* when prudence imposes the restriction of silence in the gratification even of the most laudable curiosity.

It was the lot of this distinguished character above most men, to move, in the prominent parts of his active life, within a sphere agitated to no ordinary degree of heat by the inflammatory passions of political fury; and he had scarcely seated himself in the shade of repose, from the turmoil of public em-

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ployment, when another revolution burst forth with far more tremendous violence; during the progress of which his name was adduced by anarchists as a sanction for their practices, and his authority quoted by dreaming theorists in support of their visionary projects. Whether, therefore, the publication of his Memoirs and other papers, amidst such a scene of perturbation, would have been conducive to the desirable ends of peace, may be a matter of question; but at all events the sober and inquisitive part of mankind can have no cause to regret the suspension of what might have suffered from the perverted talents of designing partizans and infuriated zealots. It may fairly be observed, that the writings of **DR. FRANKLIN** are calculated to serve a far more important purpose than that of ministering to the views of party, and keeping alive national divisions, which, however necessitated by circumstances, ought to cease with the occasion, and yield to the spirit of philanthropy. Even amidst the din of war and the contention of faction, it was the constant aim of this excellent man, to promote a conciliatory disposition, and to correct the acerbity of controversy. Though no one could feel more sensibly for the wrongs of his country, or have more enlarged ideas on the subject of general liberty, his powerful efforts to redress the one and extend the other, were always connected with the paramount object of social improvement, in the recommendation of those habits which tend most effectually to unite men together in the bonds of amity. Happening, however, to live himself in a turbulent period, and called upon to take a leading part in those scenes which produced a new empire in the western world; much of his latter memoirs and correspondence will be found to exhibit his undisguised thoughts upon the public men and occurrences of his day. These sketches, anecdotes, and reflections will now be read by men of opposite sentiments, without awakening painful

recollections, or rekindling the dying embers of animosity: while the historian and the moralist may learn from them the secret springs of public events, and the folly of being carried away by political prejudice.

While, therefore, some contracted minds in different countries may be querulously disposed to censure the delay that has taken place in the publication of these posthumous papers, it is presumed that the more considerate and liberal on either side of the Atlantic, will approve of the motives which have operated for the procrastination, even though the period has so far exceeded the *nonum prematur annum*, assigned by Horace, the oldest and best of critics, for the appearance of a finished performance.

The Editor, in offering this justificatory plea to the public, and taking credit for having exercised so much discretion as to keep these relics in his private custody, till the return of halcyon days and a brightened horizon, when their true value might be best appreciated, feels that he has discharged his duty in that manner which the venerable writer himself would have prescribed, could he have anticipated the disorders which have ravaged the most polished and enlightened states since his removal from this scene of pride and weakness; where nations as well as individuals have their periods of infancy and decrepitude, of moral vigor and wild derangement.

Shortly after the death of Dr. Franklin there were not wanting the usual train of *Literary Speculators* to exercise their industry in collecting his avowed productions, together with those which public rumor ascribed to his pen. These miscellanies were printed in various forms both in England and America, greatly to the advantage of the publishers; nor did the possessor of the originals avail himself of the general avidity and the celebrity of his ancestor, to deprive those persons of the profits which they continued to reap from repeated

editions of papers that had cost them nothing. When, however, they had reason to apprehend that the genuine memoirs and other works of Franklin, as written and corrected by himself, would be brought forward in a manner suitable to their importance, and the dignified rank of the author, in the political and literary world, invidious reports were sent abroad, and circulated with uncommon diligence, asserting that all the literary remains of Dr. Franklin had been purchased at an enormous rate by the British ministry, who (*mirabile dictu*) it seems were more afraid of this arsenal of paper than of the power of France, with all her numerous resources and auxiliaries. This convenient tale, absurd as it was, found reporters both in Europe and in the United States, who bruited it about with so much art, as to make many who were unacquainted with the legatee of the manuscripts, believe it to be true, and to lament feelingly, that such inestimable productions should be suppressed, and lost for ever, through the cupidity of the person to whom they were bequeathed. Provoking as the story was, the party whom it most affected, and whose interests it was designed to injure, felt too much of the *conscia mens recti* to do otherwise than treat the ridiculous invention with contempt, from a persuasion that the refutation of an improbable falsehood is beneath the dignity of truth. He therefore endured the opprobrium without complaint, and even suffered it to be repeated without being goaded into an explanation; contentedly waiting for the time when he might best fulfil his duty, and shame his calumniators. That period has at length arrived, and the world will now see whether an enlightened government could be weak enough to be frightened by the posthumous works of a philosopher; or whether a man of integrity, bred under Franklin, bearing his name, and entrusted with his confidence, could be bribed into an act of treachery to his memory.

Of the present collection it remains to be observed, that the only portion which has hitherto appeared in any form, is the first fasciculus of the Memoirs of Dr. Franklin, extending from his birth to the year 1757, forming one hundred and seventy-five pages only of the present volume. But even what has formerly been printed of this part, can scarcely lay any claim to *originality*, since the English edition is no more than a translation from the French, which of itself is a professed version of a transcription; so that the metamorphoses of this interesting piece of biography, may be said to resemble the fate of Milton's epic poem, which a French Abbé paraphrased into inflated prose, and which an English writer, ignorant of its origin, turned back again under the same double disguise into its native language.

Admitting, however, that the small portion of the memoir given to the world, is substantially correct in the materials of the narrative, the present publication of it must be infinitely more estimable by being printed literally from the original autograph.

It is much to be regretted, that Dr. Franklin was not enabled, by his numerous avocations and the infirmities of old age, to complete the narrative of his life in his own inimitable manner. That he intended to have done this is certain, from his correspondence, as well as from the parts in continuation of the memoir which are now for the first time communicated to the world. But the convulsed state of things during the American revolution, the lively concern which he had in that event, and his multiplied public engagements, after contributing to the establishment of the independence of his country, prevented him from indulging his own inclinations and complying with the earnest desire of his numerous friends.

Upon the Editor, therefore, has devolved the task of filling up the chasms in the best manner that he could, from the let-

ters and other papers of his revered relative; and where these documents failed, in giving adequate information, by supplying the deficiencies from STUBER'S CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE OF DR. FRANKLIN, and other sources, upon the fidelity of which any dependence could be placed for the accuracy of what they imparted. In executing this part of his trust, the Editor is sensible how much reason he has to solicit the indulgence of the reader; but though fully conscious that no talent short of DR. FRANKLIN'S own could render his private and public history equally instructive and entertaining with what he drew up himself; yet he may justly claim the merit of having scrupulously adhered to the verity of what he has related, and of endeavoring to keep as closely as possible in that track of simplicity which was the distinguished characteristic of this truly moral and political Philosopher.



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MEMOIRS
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
&c. &c.

*To William Franklin, Esq., Governor of New Jersey,
North America.*

Twyford, at the Bishop of St. Asaph's,^a 1771.

DEAR SON,

I HAVE ever had a pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations, when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to learn the circumstances of *my* life, many of which you are unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a few weeks' uninterrupted leisure, I sit down to write them. Besides, there are some other inducements that excite me to this undertaking. From the poverty and obscurity in which I was born, and in which I passed my earliest years, I have raised myself to a state of affluence and some degree of celebrity in the world. As constant good fortune has accompanied me even to an advanced period of life, my posterity will perhaps be desirous of learning the means, which I employed, and which, thanks to Providence, so well succeeded with me. They may also deem them fit to be imitated, should any of them find them-

^a Dr. Shipley.

selves in similar circumstances. This good fortune, when I reflect on it, which is frequently the case, has induced me sometimes to say, that if it were left to my choice, I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end: requesting only the advantage authors have, of correcting in a second edition the faults of the first. So would I also wish to change some incidents of it for others more favorable. Notwithstanding, if this condition was denied, I should still accept the offer of re-commencing the same life. But as this repetition is not to be expected, that which resembles most living one's life over again, seems to be to recall all the circumstances of it; and to render this remembrance more durable to record them in writing. In thus employing myself I shall yield to the inclination so natural to old men, of talking of themselves and their own actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to those, who, from respect to my age, might conceive themselves obliged to listen to me, since they will be always free to read me or not. And lastly (I may as well confess it, as the denial of it would be believed by nobody) I shall perhaps not a little gratify my own *vanity*. Indeed, I never heard or saw the introductory words "*Without vanity I may say,*" &c. but some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves, but I give it fair quarter, wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others who are within his sphere of action: and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd, if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I attribute the mentioned happiness of my past life to his divine providence, which led me to the means I used, and gave the success. My belief of this induces me to *hope*, though I must not *presume*, that the same goodness will still be exercised towards me, in continuing that happiness or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future

fortune being known to him only, in whose power it is to bless us, even in our afflictions.

Some notes, one of my uncles (who had the same curiosity in collecting family anecdotes) once, put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relative to our ancestors. From these notes I learnt that they lived in the same village, Ecton in Northamptonshire, on a freehold of about thirty acres, for at least three hundred years, and how much longer could not be ascertained.^b

This small estate would not have sufficed for their maintenance without the business of a smith, which had continued in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son being always brought up to that employment; a custom which he

^b Perhaps from the time, when the name of FRANKLIN, which before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them for a *surname*, when others took surnames all over the kingdom.

For a proof that FRANKLIN was anciently the common name of an order or rank in England, see Judge Fortescue, *De laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written about the year 1412, in which is the following passage, to show that good juries might easily be formed in any part of England.

“Regio etiam illa, ita respersa refertaque est *possessoribus terrarum et agrorum*, quod in ea, villula tam parva reperiri non poterit, in qua non est *miles, armiger*, vel pater-familias, qualis ibidem *Frankleri* vulgariter nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessionibus, nec non libere tenentes et alii *valecti* plurimi, suis patrimoniiis sufficientes ad faciendum juratam, in forma prænotata.

“Moreover, the same country is so filled and replenished with landed menne, that therein so small a thorpe cannot be found wherein dweleth not a knight, an esquire, or such a householder, as is there commonly called a *Franklin*, enriched with great possessions; and also other freeholders and many yeomen able for their livelihoodes to make a jury in form aforementioned.”—(*Old Translation.*)

Chaucer too calls his country gentleman, a *Franklin*; and after describing his good housekeeping, thus characterises him:

“This worthy Franklin bore a purse of silk,
Fix'd to his girdle, white as morning milk.
Knight of the Shire, first Justice at th' Assize,
To help the poor, the doubtful to advise.
In all employments, generous, just, he proved;
Renown'd for courtesie, by all beloved.

and my father followed with regard to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at *Ecton*, I found an account of their marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, as the registers kept did not commence previous thereto. I however learnt from it, that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was born 1598 lived at *Ecton*, till he was too old to continue his business, when he retired to *Banbury* in *Oxfordshire*, to the house of his son *John*, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my uncle died and lies buried. We saw his grave-stone in 1758. His eldest son *Thomas* lived in the house at *Ecton*, and left it with the land to his only daughter, who with her husband, one *Fisher* of *Wellingborough*, sold it to *Mr. Isted* now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons, who grew up; viz. *Thomas*, *John*, *Benjamin*, and *Josiah*. Being at a distance from my papers, I will give you what account I can of them from memory: and if my papers are not lost in my absence, you will find among them many more particulars.^c

^c The following is a copy of an original letter, which is in the hands of the publisher in *Philadelphia*; it is a curious relique, and was found among the wreck of *Dr. Franklin's* papers, several years ago.

From Josiah to B. Franklin.

LOVING SON.

AS to the original of our name there is various opinions; some say that it came from a sort of title of which a book, that you bought when here, gives a lively account. Some think we are of a French extract, which was formerly called *Franks*; some of a free line; a line free from that vassalage which was common to subjects in days of old: some from a bird of long red legs. Your uncle *Benjamin* made inquiry of one skilled in heraldry, who told him there is two coats of armour, one belonging to the *Franklins* of the north, and one to the *Franklins* of the west. However our circumstances have been such as that it hath hardly been worth while to concern ourselves much about these things, any farther than to tickle the fancy a little.

The first that I can give account of, is my great grand father, as it was a custom in those days among young men too many times to goe to seek their fortune, and in his travels he went upon liking to a taylor; but he

Thomas, my eldest uncle, was bred a smith under his father, but being ingenious, and encouraged in learning, (as all my brothers were) by an esquire Palmer, then the principal inhabitant of that parish, he qualified himself for the bar, and became a considerable man in the county; was chief

kept such a stingy house, that he left him and travelled farther, and came to a smith's house, and coming on a fasting day, being in popish times, he did not like there the first day; the next morning the servant was called up at five in the morning, but after a little time came a good toast and good beer, and he found good housekeeping there; he served and learned the trade of a smith.

In queen Mary's days, either his wife, or my grandmother, by father's side, informed my father that they kept their bible fastened under the top of a joint-stool that they might turn up the book and read in the bible, that when any body came to the dore they turned up the stool for fear of the aparitor, for if it was discovered, they would be in hazard of their lives. My grandfather was a smith also, and settled at Eton in Northamptonshire, and he was imprisoned a year and a day on suspicion of his being the author of some poetry that touched the character of some great man. He had only one son and one daughter; my grandfather's name was Henry, my father's name was Thomas, my mother's name was Jane. My father was born at Ecton or Eton, Northamptonshire, on the 18th of October, 1598; married to Miss Jane White, niece to Coll White, of Banbury, and died in the 84th year of his age. There was nine children of us who were happy in our parents, who took great care by their instructions and pious example to breed us up in a religious way. My eldest brother had but one child, which was married to one Mr. Fisher, at Wallingborough, in Northamptonshire. The town was lately burnt down, and whether she was a sufferer or not I cannot tell, or whether she be living or not. Her father dyed worth fifteen hundred pounds, but what her circumstances are now I know not. She hath no child. If you by the freedom of your office, makes it more likely to convey a letter to her, it would be acceptable to me. There is also children of brother John and sister Morris, but I hear nothing from them, and they write not to me, so that I know not where to find them. I have been again to about seeing but have mist of being informed. We received yours, and are glad to hear poor Jammy is recovered so well. Son John received the letter, but is so busy just now that he cannot write you an answer, but will do the best he can.

Now with hearty love to, and prayer for you all, I rest your affectionate father.

Boston, May 26, 1739.

JOSIAH FRANKLIN.

mover of all public-spirited enterprizes for the county or town of Northampton, as well as of his own village, of which many instances were related of him: and he was much taken notice of, and patronized by lord Halifax. He died in 1702, the 6th of January; four years to a day before I was born. The recital which some elderly persons made to us of his character, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity with what you knew of me. "Had he died," said you, "four years later, on the same day, one might have supposed a transmigration." John, my next uncle, was bred a dyer, I believe of wool. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship in London. He was an ingenious man. I remember, when I was a boy, he came to my father's in Boston, and resided in the house with us for several years. There was always a particular affection between my father and him, and I was his godson. He lived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of manuscript, of his own poetry, consisting of fugitive pieces addressed to his friends. He had invented a short-hand of his own, which he taught me, but not having practised it, I have now forgotten it. He was very pious, and an assiduous attendant at the sermons of the best preachers, which he reduced to writing according to his method, and had thus collected several volumes of them. He was also a good deal of a politician; too much so, perhaps for his station. There fell lately into my hands in London, a collection he made of all the principal political pamphlets relating to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting, as appears by their numbering, but there still remains eight volumes in folio, and twenty in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books had met with them, and knowing me by name, having bought books of him, he brought them to me. It would appear that my uncle must have left them here, when he went to America, which was about fifty years ago. I found several of his notes in the margins. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, is still living in Boston.

Our humble family early embraced the reformed religion.

Our forefathers continued Protestants through the reign of Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against popery. They had an English bible, and to conceal it, and place it in safety, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great grandfather wished to read it to his family, he placed the joint stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the church of England, till about the end of Charles II. reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for their nonconformity, holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, my uncle Benjamin and my father Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives: the rest of the family remained with the episcopal church.

My father married young, and carried his wife with three children to New England, about 1682. The conventicles being at that time forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed in their meetings, some considerable men of his acquaintance determined to go to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy the exercise of their religion with freedom. By the same wife my father had four children more born there, and by a second wife ten others; in all seventeen; of which I remember to have seen thirteen sitting together at his table, who all grew up to years of maturity, and were married: I was the youngest son, and the youngest of all except two daughters. I was born in Boston in New England. My mother, the second wife of my father, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England; of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his ecclesiastical history of that country, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as “a goodly and learned Englishman,” if I remem-

ber the words rightly. I was informed he wrote several small occasional works, but only one of them was printed, which I remember to have seen several years since. It was written in 1675. It was in familiar verse, according to the taste of the times and people; and addressed to the government there. It asserts the liberty of conscience, in behalf of the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and other sectarians, that had been persecuted. He attributes to this persecution the Indian wars, and other calamities that had befallen the country; regarding them as so many judgments of God, to punish so heinous an offence, so contrary to charity. This piece appeared to me as written with manly freedom and a pleasing simplicity. The six last lines I remember, but have forgotten the preceding ones of the stanza; the purpose of them was, that his censures proceeded from good will, and therefore he would be known to be the author.

“Because to be a libeller (said he)
I hate it with my heart;
From *Sherburne*^c town, where no I dwell,
My name I do put here;
Without offence, your real friend,—
It is Peter Folgier.

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tythe of his sons, to the service of the church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, and I do not remember when I could not read) and the opinion of all my friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me his short-hand volumes of sermons to set up with, if I would learn short-hand.

I continued however at the grammar school rather less than a year, though in that time I had risen gradually from

^c Sherburne in the island of Nantucket.

the middle of the class of that year, to be at the head of the same class, and was removed into the next class, whence I was to be placed in the third at the end of the year. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, was unable, without inconvenience, to support the expense of a college education; considering moreover, as he said to one of his friends in my presence, the little encouragement that line of life afforded to those educated for it, he gave up his first intentions, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownwell. He was a skilful master, and successful in his profession, employing the mildest and most encouraging methods. Under him I learnt to write a good hand pretty soon, but failed entirely in arithmetic. At ten years old, I was taken to help my father in his business of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler, a business to which he was not bred, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, because he found that his dying trade, being in little request, would not maintain his family. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting the wick for the candles, filling the molds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, &c.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination to go to sea, but my father declared against it; but residing near the water, I was much in it and on it. I learnt to swim well, and to manage boats; and when embarked with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions, I was generally the leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention an instance, as it shews an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt marsh which bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which at high water we used to stand to fish for minnows; by much trampling we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there for us to stand upon, and I shewed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the

evening, when the workmen were gone home, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and we worked diligently like so many emmets; sometimes two or three to a stone, till we had brought them all to make our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised, on missing the stones which formed our wharf; inquiry was made after the authors of this transfer, we were discovered, complained of, and corrected by our fathers; and though I demonstrated the utility of our work, mine convinced me that, *that which was not truly honest could not be truly useful.*

I suppose you may like to know what kind of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle stature, well set, and very strong: he could draw prettily, was a little skilled in music; his voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he played on his violin and sung withal, as he was accustomed to do after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had some knowledge of mechanics, and on occasion was very handy with other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence was his sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. It is true he was never employed in the latter, the numerous family he had to educate, and the strictness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade: but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading men, who consulted him for his opinion in public affairs, and those of the church he belonged to, and who shewed great respect for his judgment and advice: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs, when any difficulty occurred; and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent, in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well

or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters, as to be quite indifferent as to what kind of food was set before me. Indeed (I am so unobservant of it, that to this day I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner of what dishes it consisted. This has been a great convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate because better instructed tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness, but that of which they died—he at 89 and she at 85 years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:

Josiah Franklin

and

Abiah his wife

lie here interred.

They lived lovingly together in wedlock
fifty-five years.

And without an estate, or any gainful employment

By constant labor and honest industry,
maintained a large family comfortably,

And brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren
respectably.

From this instance, reader,

Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.

He was a pious and prudent man;

She a discreet and virtuous woman.

Their youngest son,

In filial regard to their memory,

Places this stone.

J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætas 89.

A. F. — 1667, — 1752, — 85.

By my rambling digressions, I perceive myself to be grown old. I used to write more methodically. But one does

not dress for private company as for a public ball. Perhaps it is only negligence.

To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was every appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father had apprehensions, that if he did not put me to one more agreeable, I should break loose and go to sea, as my brother Josiah had done, to his great vexation. In consequence he took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, &c. at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or profession that would keep me on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been often useful to me to have learnt so much by it as to be able to do some trifling jobs in the house, when a workman was not at hand, and to construct little machines for my experiments, at the moment when the intention of making them was warm in my mind. My father determined at last for the cutler's trade, and placed me for some days on trial with Samuel, son to my uncle Benjamin, who was bred to that trade in London, and had just established himself in Boston. But the sum he exacted as a fee for my apprenticeship displeased my father, and I was taken home again. From my infancy I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in the purchasing of books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was *Bunyan's* works in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy *R. Burton's Historical Collections*; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted, that at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen into my way, since it was resolved I should not be bred to divini-

ty; there was among them Plutarch's lives, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of *De Foe's*, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of *Dr. Mather's*, called an *Essay to do good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had an hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made a great progress in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers, enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my chamber the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing. After some time a merchant, an ingenious (sensible) man, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, frequented our printing office, took notice of me, and invited me to see his library, and very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read. I now took a strong inclination for poetry, and wrote some little pieces; my brother supposing it might turn to account, encouraged me, and induced me to compose two occasional ballads. One was called the *Lighthouse tragedy*, and contained an account of the shipwreck of captain Worthilake, with his two daughters: the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of the famous *Teach* (or Black-beard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in street ballad

style; and when they were printed, my brother sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold (prodigiously), the event being recent, and having made a great noise. This success flattered my vanity, but my father discouraged me, by criticising my performances, and telling me, verse makers were generally beggars. Thus I escaped being a poet, and probably a very bad one: but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I may be supposed to have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence besides souring and spoiling the conversation, it is productive of disgusts and perhaps enmities with those who may have occasion for friendship. I had caught this by reading my father's books of disputes on religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and generally men of all sorts who have been bred at Edinburg. A question was once some how or other started, between Collins and me, on the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps for dispute sake. He was naturally more eloquent, having a greater plenty of words; and sometimes as I thought I was vanquished more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters on a side had passed, when my father happened to find my pa-

pers and read them. Without entering into the subject in disputes, he took occasion to talk to me about my manner of writing; observed that though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing, (which he attributed to the printing house) I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method, and perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to my manner of writing, and determined to endeavor to improve my style.

About this time I met with an odd volume of the Spectator. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it. With that view I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiments in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length and as fully as it had been expressed before in any suitable words that should occur to me. Then I compared my Spectator with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time, if I had gone on making verses; since the continual search for words of the same import, but of different lengths, to suit the measure, or of different sounds for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales in the Spectator, and turned them into verse: and after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collection of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and complete the subject. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of the thoughts. By comparing my work with the original, I discovered many faults and corrected them; but I sometimes had

the pleasure to fancy, that in particulars of small consequence I had been fortunate enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think, that I might in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious. The time I allotted for writing exercises and for reading, was at night, or before work began in the morning, or on Sunday, when I contrived to be in the printing house, avoiding as much as I could, the constant attendance at public worship, which my father used to exact from me when I was under his care, and which I still continued to consider as a duty, though I could not afford time to practise it.

When about sixteen years of age, I happened to meet with another book, written by one Tryon recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconvenience, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, if he would give me weekly half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me.

This was an additional fund for buying of books. But I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing office to their meals, I remained there alone; and dispatching presently my light repast, which was often no more than a biscuit, or a slice of bread and a handful of raisins, a tart from the pastry cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time till their return for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quick apprehension, which generally attends temperance in eating and drinking.

Now it was, that being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed learning

when at school. I took *Cocker's* book on arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with the greatest ease. I also read *Sellers* and *Sturny's* book on navigation, which made me acquainted with the little geometry it contained; but I never proceeded far in that science. I read about this time *Locke on the Human Understanding*, and the *Art of Thinking* by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar, (I think it was Greenwood's) having at the end of it two little sketches, on the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procured Xenophon's *Memorable things of Socrates*, wherein there are many examples of the same method. I was charmed by it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer; and being then, from reading *Shaftesbury* and *Collins*, made a doubter, as I already was in many points of our religious doctrines, I found this method the safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took delight in it, practised it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee; entangling them in difficulties, out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories, that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continued this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced any thing that may possibly be disputed, the word *certainly*—*undoubtedly*, or any other that gave the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say *I conceive*, or *apprehend* a thing to be so and so; *it appears to me*; or I should not think it so, for such and such reasons; or *I imagine it to be so*; or *it is so, if I am not mistaken*. This habit I believe has been of great advantage to me, when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to

time engaged in promoting; and as the chief ends of conversation are to *inform*, or to be *informed*, to *please* or to *persuade*; I wish well meaning and sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive assuming manner that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat most of those purposes for which speech was given to us.

In fact if you wish to instruct others, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may occasion opposition and prevent a candid attention. If you desire improvement from others you should not at the same time express yourself fixed in your present opinions; modest and sensible men who do not love disputation will leave you undisturbed in the possession of your errors. In adopting such a manner, you can seldom expect to please your hearers, or obtain the concurrence you desire. Pope judiciously observes,

Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed as things forgot.

He also recommends it to us,

To speak tho' sure, with seeming diffidence.

And he might have joined with this line, that which he has coupled with another, I think less properly,

For want of modesty is want of sense,

If you ask, why less properly, I must repeat the lines,

Immodest words admit of no defence,
For want of modesty is want of sense.

Now is not the *want of sense* (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his *want of modesty*? and would not the lines stand more justly thus?

Immodest words admit but *this* defence,
That *want of modesty* is want of sense.

This however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had in 1720 or 21, began to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant*. The only one before it, was the *Boston News Letter*. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed,

one newspaper being in their judgment, enough for America. At this time (1771) there are not less than *five-and-twenty*.^d He went on however, with the undertaking; I was employed to carry the papers to the customers, after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets. He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit, and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us.

Hearing their conversations and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them: but being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing any thing of mine in his paper, if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and writing an anonymous paper, I put it at night under the door of the printing house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends, when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it had met with their approbation, and that in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose that I was rather lucky in my judges, and they were not really so very good as I then believed them to be.

Encouraged however by this attempt I wrote and sent in the same way to the press several other pieces, that were equally approved; and I kept my secret till all my fund of sense for such performances was exhausted, and then discovered it, when I began to be considered with a little more attention by my brother's acquaintance. However, that did not quite please him, as he thought it tended to make me too vain. This might be one occasion of the differences we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he degraded me too much in some he required

^d The number in 1817, exceeds 400.

of me, who from a brother required more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected..

Perhaps the harsh and tyrannical treatment of me, might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power, that has stuck to me through my whole life.

One of the pieces in our newspaper, on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the assembly. He was taken up, censured, and imprisoned for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose because he would not discover the author. I too was taken up and examined before the council; but though I did not give them any satisfaction, they contented themselves with admonishing me and dismissed me, considering me perhaps as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a youth that had a turn for libelling and satire. My brother's discharge was accompanied with an order (and a very odd one) that "James Franklin should no longer print the newspaper called the New England Courant."

On a consultation held in our printing office amongst his friends, what he should do in this conjuncture, it was proposed to elude the order, by changing the name of the paper; but my brother seeing inconveniences in this, came to a conclusion, as a better way, to let the paper in future be printed in the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: and in order to avoid the censure of the assembly that might fall on him, as still printing it by his apprentice, he contrived and consented that

my old indenture should be returned to me, with a discharge on the back of it, to show in case of necessity, and in order to secure to him the benefit of my service, I should sign new indentures for the remainder of my time, which was to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper was printed accordingly under my name for several months. At length a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom; presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon as one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me: though he was otherwise not an illnatured man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing house in town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refused to give me work. I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclined to leave Boston, when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and from the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I staid, soon bring myself into scrapes; and further that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror, by good people, as an infidel or atheist. I concluded therefore to remove to New York; but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore undertook to manage my flight. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop to take me, under pretence of my being a young man of his acquaintance that had an intrigue with a girl of bad character, whose parents would compel me to marry her; and that I could neither appear or come away publicly. I sold my books to raise a little

money, was taken on board the sloop privately, had a fair wind, and in three days, found myself at New York, near three hundred miles from my home, at the age of seventeen; without the least recommendation, or knowledge of any person in the place, and very little money in my pocket.

The inclination I had felt for the sea was by this time done away, or I might now have gratified it. But having another profession, and conceiving myself a pretty good workman, I offered my services to a printer of the place, old Mr. W. Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but had removed thence, in consequence of a quarrel with the governor, general Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and hands enough already. But he said, "my son
"at Philadelphia, has lately lost his principal hand, Aquilla
"Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ
"you." Philadelphia was one hundred miles farther; I set out however, in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea. In crossing the bay we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell over board; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate, and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desired I would dry for him. It proved to be my old favorite author, *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, copper cuts, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible. Honest John was the first that I know of, who mixed narration and dialogue; a method of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the most interesting parts finds himself, as it were, admitted into the company and present at the conversation. *De Foe* has imitated him successfully in his *Robinson Crusoe*, in his *Moll Flanders*, and

other pieces; and *Richardson* has done the same in his *Pamela*, &c.

On approaching the island, we found it was in a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surf on the stony beach. So we dropped anchor, and swung out our cable towards the shore. Some people came down to the shore, and hallooed us, as we did to them, but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could not understand each other. There were some small boats near the shore, and we made signs, and called to them to fetch us; but they either did not comprehend us, or it was impracticable, so they went off. Night approaching, we had no remedy but to have patience till the wind abated, and in the mean time the boatmen and myself concluded to sleep if we could; and so we crowded into the hatches, where we joined the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray breaking over the head of our boat, leaked through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night with very little rest; but the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach *Amboy* before night; having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum: the water we sailed on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went to bed: but having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, I followed the prescription; and sweat plentifully most of the night: my fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to *Burlington*, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to *Philadelphia*.

It rained very hard all the day, I was thoroughly soaked, and by noon a good deal tired, so I stopt at a poor inn, where I stayed all night; beginning now to wish I had never left home. I made so miserable a figure too, that I found by the questions asked me, I was suspected to be some runaway indentured servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded next day, and got in the

evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me, while I took some refreshment, and finding I had read a little, became very obliging and friendly. Our acquaintance continued all the rest of his life. He had been, I imagine, an ambulatory quack doctor, for there was no town in England, or any country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but he was an infidel, and wickedly undertook some years after to turn the Bible into doggerel verse; as Cotton had formerly done with Virgil. By this means he set many facts in a ridiculous light, and might have done mischief with weak minds, if his work had been published; but it never was. At his house I lay that night, and arrived the next morning at Burlington; but had the mortification to find, that the regular boats had gone a little before, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday. Wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought some gingerbread to eat on the water, and asked her advice: she proposed to lodge me, till a passage by some other boat occurred. I accepted her offer, being much fatigued by travelling on foot. Understanding I was a printer, she would have had me remain in that town and follow my business; being ignorant what stock was necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox cheek with great good-will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia with several people in her. They took me in, and as there was no wind, we rowed all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no further; the others knew not where we were, so we put towards the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew

the place to be Cooper's creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arrived there about eight or nine o'clock, on the Sunday morning, and landed at Market-street wharf.

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings, with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best clothes coming round by sea. I was dirty, from my being so long in the boat: my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no one, nor where to look for lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and the want of sleep, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted in a single dollar, and about a shilling in copper coin, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. At first they refused it, on account of my having rowed, but I insisted on their taking it. Man is sometimes more generous when he has little money, than when he has plenty; perhaps to prevent his being thought to have but little. I walked towards the top of the street, gazing about still in Market-street, where I met a boy with bread. I had often made a meal of dry bread, and inquiring where he had bought it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to. I asked for biscuits, meaning such as we had at Boston: that sort, it seems, was not made in Philadelphia. I then asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none. Not knowing the different prices, nor the names of the different sorts of bread, I told him to give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me accordingly three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of

Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and coming round found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and being filled with one of my rolls gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther. Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way: I joined them and thereby was led into the great meeting house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking round awhile, and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy, through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when some one was kind enough to rouse me. This therefore was the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

I then walked down towards the river, and looking in the faces of every one, I met a young Quaker man whose countenance pleased me, and accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," said he, "is a house where they receive strangers, but it is not a reputable one; if thou wilt walk with me, I'll shew thee a better one;" and he conducted me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. There I got a dinner; and while I was eating, several questions were asked me; as from my youth and appearance I was suspected of being a runaway. After dinner my host having shewn me to a bed, I lay myself on it, without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, when I was called to supper. I went to bed again very early, and slept very soundly till next morning. Then I dressed myself as neat as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford, the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, travelling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately supplied with one: but there

was another printer in town lately set up, one Keimer, who perhaps might employ me: if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbor," said Bradford, "I have brought to see you, a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He asked me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I worked, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do; and taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, entered into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, (not discovering that he was the other printer's father,) on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands; drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what influence he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I who stood by and heard all, saw immediately, that one was a crafty old sophister, and the other a true novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

The printing house, I found, consisted of an old (damaged) press and a small worn-out fount of English types, which he was using himself, composing an elegy on Aquilla Rose, beforementioned; an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, secretary to the assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses too, but very indifferently. He could not be said to *write* them, for his method was to *compose* them in the types directly out of his head; there being no copy, but one pair of cases, and the elegy probably requiring all the letter, no one could help him. I endeavored to put his press (which he had not yet used, and of which he understood nothing) into order to be worked with; and promising to come and print off his elegy as soon as he should have got it ready, I returned to Bradford's,

who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dieted. A few days after Keimer sent for me to print off the elegy. And now he had got another pair of cases, and a pamphlet to reprint, on which he set me to work.

These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, though something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of press-work. He had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterwards found, a good deal of the knave in his composition. He did not like my lodging at Bradford's while I worked with him. He had a house indeed, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, beforementioned, who was the owner of his house: and my chest of clothes being come by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read, than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gained money by my industry and frugality. I lived very contented, and forgot Boston as much as I could, and did not wish it should be known where I resided, except to my friend Collins, who was in the secret, and kept it faithfully. At length, however, an incident happened, that occasioned my return home much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at New Castle, forty miles below Philadelphia, and hearing of me, wrote me a letter, mentioning the grief of my relations and friends in Boston, at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that every thing would be accommodated to my mind if I would return; to which he intreated me earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thanked him for his advice, but stated my reasons for

quitting Boston, so fully and in such a light, as to convince him, that I was not so much in the wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at New Castle, and captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him, when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and shewed him the letter. The governor read it, and seemed surprised when he was told my age. He said I appeared a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged: the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones, and if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law Holmes afterwards told me in Boston: but I knew as yet nothing of it; when one day Keimer and I being at work together near the window we saw the governor and another gentleman, (who proved to be col. French of New Castle, in the province of Delaware) finely dressed, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door. Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him: but the governor inquired for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unused to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me; blamed me kindly for not having made myself known to him, when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent Madeira. I was not a little surprised, and Keimer stared with astonishment. I went however with the governor and colonel French to a tavern the corner of Third-street, and over the Madeira he proposed my setting up my business. He stated the probabilities of my success, and both he and colonel French assured me I should have their interest and influence to obtain for me the public business of both governments. And as I expressed doubts that my father would assist me in it, sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would set forth the advantages, and he did not doubt, he should determine him to comply. So it was con-

cluded I should return to Boston by the first vessel, with the governor's letter to my father. In the mean time it was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual. The governor sent for me now and then to dine with him, which I considered a great honor, more particularly as he conversed with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offered for Boston. I took leave of Keimer, as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia, as a thing that would make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were obliged to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arrived safe, however, at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my brother Holmes was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother: I went to see him at his printing house. I was better dressed than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lined with near five pounds sterling in silver. He received me not very frankly, looked me all over, and turned to his work again. The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I liked it? I praised it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it; and one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produced an handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of *raree-show* they had not been used to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and lastly (my brother still grum and sullen) gave them a dollar to drink and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extremely. For when my mother sometime after spoke to him of a reconcili-

ation, and of her wish to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers; he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people, that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

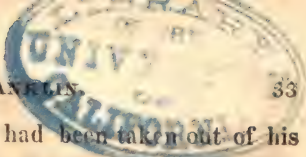
My father received the governor's letter with some surprise; but said little of it to me for some time. Captain Holmes returning, he shewed it to him, and asked him if he knew sir William Keith, and what kind of a man he was; adding that he must be of small discretion, to think of setting a youth up in business, who wanted three years to arrive at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favor of the project, but my father was decidedly against it, and at last gave a flat denial. He wrote a civil letter to sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, and declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being in his opinion too young to be trusted with the management of an undertaking so important, and for which the preparation required a considerable expenditure.

My old companion Collins, who was a clerk in the Post Office, pleased with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also: and while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode-Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection in mathematics and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York; where he proposed to wait for me.

My father though he did not approve sir William's proposition, was yet pleased that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided; and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advised me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavor to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and

prudent parsimony, I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty, to set me up; and that if I came near the matter he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love when I embarked again for New York, now with their approbation and their blessing. The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always loved me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due him in Pennsylvania (about thirty-five pounds currency) desired I would recover it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to employ it in. Accordingly he gave me an order to receive it. This business afterwards occasioned me a good deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers, amongst which were too young women travelling together, and a sensible matron-like quaker lady, with her servants. I had shewn an obliging disposition to render her some little services, which probably impressed her with sentiments of good will towards me; for when she witnessed the daily growing familiarity between the young women and myself, which they appeared to encourage; she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am concerned for thee, as thou hast no friend with thee, and seems't not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is exposed to: depend upon it these are very bad women; I can see it by all their actions; and if thou art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger: they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seemed at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observed and heard that had escaped my notice, but now convinced me she was right. I thanked her for her kind advice, and promised to follow it. When we arrived at New York, they told me where they lived, and invited me to come and see them, but I avoided it, and it was well I did. For the next day the captain missed a silver



spoon and some other things that had been taken out of his cabin, and knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punished. So though we had escaped a sunken rock, which we scraped upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived there some time before me. We had been intimate from children, and had read the same books together: but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far outstript me. While I lived in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continued a sober as well as industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen, and seemed to promise making a good figure in life. But during my absence he had acquired a habit of drinking of brandy, and I found by his own account, as well as that of others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved himself in a very extravagant manner. He had gamed too, and lost his money, so that I was obliged to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses on the road, and at Philadelphia; which proved a great burden to me. The then governor of New York, Burnet, (son of bishop Burnet,) hearing from the captain, that one of the passengers had a great many books on board, desired him to bring me to see him. I waited on him, and should have taken Collins with me had he been sober. The governor received me with great civility, shewed me his library, which was a considerable one, and we had a good deal of conversation relative to books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me; and for a poor boy like me, was very pleasing. We proceeded to Philadelphia, I received in the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finished our journey. Collins wished to be employed in some counting house; but whether they discovered his dram-drink-

ing by his breath or by his behavior, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continued lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing that I had that money of Vernon's he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment, as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it, that I was distressed to think what I should do, in case of being called on to remit it. His drinking continued, about which we sometimes quarrelled: for when a little intoxicated, he was very irritable. Once in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn: "I will be rowed home," said he: "we will not row you," said I; "you must," said he, or stay all night on the water, just as you please." The others said, "let us row, what signifies it?" But my mind being soured with his other conduct, I continued to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me over-board; and coming along stepping on the thwarts towards me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapt my hand under his thighs, and rising, pitched him head foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pulled her out of his reach: and whenever he drew near the boat, we asked him if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide her away from him. He was ready to stifle with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. Finding him at last beginning to tire we drew him into the boat, and brought him home dripping wet. We hardly exchanged a civil word after this adventure. At length a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a preceptor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, met with him, and proposed to carry him thither to fill that situation. He accepted, and promised to remit me what he owed me out of the first money he should receive: but I never heard of him after. The violation of my trust, respecting Vernon's money was one of the first great errata of my life; and this shewed that my father was not much out in his judgment, when he

considered me as too young to manage business. But sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent, that there was a great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "But since he will not set you up, I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolved to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the governor, probably some friend that knew him better, would have advised me not to rely on him; as I afterwards heard it as his known character, to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep. Yet unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere: I believed him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little printing house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred pounds sterling. He liked it, but asked me if my being on the spot in England to choose the types, and see that every thing was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage; "then," said he, "when there you may make acquaintance, and establish correspondences in the bookselling and stationary way." I agreed, that this might be advantageous. Then, said he, get yourself ready to go with Annis;" which was the annual ship, and the only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But as it would be some months before Annis sailed, I continued working with Keimer, fretting extremely about the money Collins had got from me, and in great apprehensions of being called upon for it by Vernon; this however did not happen for some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning, that in my first voyage from Boston to Philadelphia, being becalmed off Block Island, our crew employed themselves in catching cod, and

hauled up a great number. Till then I had stuck to my resolution to eat nothing that had had life; and on this occasion I considered, according to my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had nor could do us any injury that might justify this massacre. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had been formerly a great lover of fish, and when it came out of the frying-pan it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till recollecting that when fish were opened I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we may not eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and have since continued to eat as other people; returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a *reasonable creature*, since it enables one to find or make a reason for every thing one has a mind to do.

Keimer and I lived on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well; for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasm, and loved argumentation. We therefore had many disputations. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and had trepanned him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, yet by degrees leading to the point, and bringing him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly answer me the most common question, without asking first, "*what do you intend to infer from that?*" However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums, which I objected to unless I might have my way a little too, and introduce some of mine. Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law, it is said, "*Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard.*" He likewise kept the seventh day, Sabbath; and these two points were

essential with him. I disliked both; but agreed to them on condition of his adopting the doctrine of not using animal food. I doubt, said he, my constitution will not bear it. I assured him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great eater, and I wished to give myself some diversion in half starving him. He consented to try the practice if I would keep him company: I did so, and we held it for three months. (Our provisions were purchased, cooked, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighborhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, which she prepared for us at different times, in which there entered neither fish, flesh, or fowl. This whim suited me the better at this time, from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience. So that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, grew tired of the project, longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him, but it being brought too soon upon table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read: I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reasons to believe she had the same for me: but as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, (only a little above eighteen,) it was thought most prudent by her mother, to prevent our going too far at present: as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I hoped, set up in my business. Perhaps too she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph; all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, (Charles Brogden,) the other was a clerk

to a merchant. Watson was a pious, sensible young man, of great integrity: the others rather more lax in their principles of religion; particularly Ralph, who as well as Collins had been unsettled by me; for which they both made me suffer. Osborne was sensible, candid, frank; sincere and affectionate to his friends; but in literary matters too fond of criticism. Ralph was ingenuous, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker. Both were great admirers of poetry, and began to try their hands in little pieces. Many pleasant walks we have had together on Sundays in the woods on the banks of the Schuylkill, where we read to one another, and conferred on what we had read. Ralph was inclined (to give himself up entirely) to poetry, not doubting but he might make great proficiency in it, and even make his fortune by it. He pretended that the greatest poets must, when they first began to write, have committed as many faults as he did. Osborne endeavored to dissuade him, assured him he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to; "that in the mercantile way though he had no stock, he might by his diligence and punctuality recommend himself to employment as a factor, and in time acquire wherewith to trade on his own account." I approved for my part the amusing oneself with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no farther. On this it was proposed that we should each of us at our next meeting produce a piece of our own composing, in order to improve by our mutual observations, criticisms, and corrections. As language and expression was what we had in view, we excluded all considerations of invention, by agreeing that the task should be a version of the eighteenth psalm, which describes the descent of a deity. When the time of our meeting drew nigh, Ralph called on me first, and let me know his piece was ready: I told him I had been busy, and having little inclination, had done nothing. He then shewed me his piece for my opinion, and I much approved it, as it appeared to me to have great merit. "Now," said he, "Osborne never will allow the least merit

in any thing of mine, but makes a thousand criticisms out of mere envy: He is not so jealous of you: I wish therefore you would take this piece and produce it as yours; I will pretend not to have had time, and so produce nothing: we shall then hear what he will say to it." It was agreed, and I immediately transcribed it, that it might appear in my own hand. We met: Watson's performance was read: there were some beauties in it, but many defects. Osborne's was read: it was much better: Ralph did it justice; remarked some faults, but applauded the beauties. He himself had nothing to produce. I was backward, seemed desirous of being excused, had not had sufficient time to correct, &c. but no excuse could be admitted; produce I must. It was read and repeated: Watson and Osborne gave up the contest; and joined in applauding it. Ralph only made some criticisms and proposed some amendments: but I defended my text. Osborne was severe against Ralph, and told me he was no better able to criticise than to compose verses. As these two were returning home, Osborne expressed himself still more strongly in favor of what he thought my production; having before refrained, as he said, lest I should think he meant to flatter me. "But who would have imagined," said he, "that Franklin was capable of such a performance; such painting, such force, such fire! He has even improved on the original. In common conversation he seems to have no choice of words, he hesitates and blunders; and yet, good God, how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had played, and Osborne was laughed at. This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till Pope cured him.^e He became however a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter. But as I may not have occasion to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my

^e "Silence ye Wolves, while *Ralph* to Cynthia howls,
And makes night hideous:—answer him ye owls!"

POPE'S DUNCIAD, b. iii. v. 165.

arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement, that the one who happened first to die, should if possible make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfilled his promise.

The governor seeming to like my company had me frequently at his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press, types, paper, &c. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to be ready, but a future time was still named. Thus we went on till the ship (whose departure too had been several times postponed) was on the point of sailing. Then when I called to take my leave and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Baird, came out to me and said, the governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle before the ship, and then the letters would be delivered to me.

Ralph, though married, and having one child, had determined to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence and obtain goods to sell on commission: but I found after, that having some cause of discontent with his wife's relations, he proposed to leave her on their hands and never return to America. Having taken leave of my friends, and exchanged promises with Miss Read, I quitted Philadelphia, in the ship, which anchored at Newcastle. The governor was there, but when I went to his lodging, his secretary came to me from him with expressions of the greatest regret that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of importance; but that he would send the letters to me on board, wishing me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, &c. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not doubting.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken his passage in the same ship for himself and son, with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Oniam and Russel, (masters of an Iron Work in Maryland,) who had engaged the great cabin; so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since governor) returned from Newcastle to Philadelphia; the father being recalled by a great fee to plead for a seized ship. And just before we sailed, colonel French coming on board, and shewing me great respect, I was more taken notice of; and with my friend Ralph invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room: accordingly we removed thither.

Understanding that colonel French had brought on board the governor's dispatches, I asked the captain for those letters that were to be under my care: he said all were put into the bag together; and he could not then come at them: but before we landed in England I should have an opportunity of picking them out, so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me, that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the governor's letters: I found some upon which my name was put, as under my care: I picked out six or seven, that by the hand-writing I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was addressed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arrived in London the 24th December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from governor Keith. I dont know such a person, said he: but opening the letter, O! this is from Riddlesden. I have

lately found him to be a complete rascal, and I will have nothing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him. So putting the letter into my hand he turned on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I was surprised to find these were not the governor's letters: and after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I began to doubt his sincerity. I found my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into Keith's character, told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me, that no one who knew him, had the smallest dependence on him; and he laughed at the idea of the governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do; he advised me to endeavor getting some employment, in the way of my business. Among the printers here, said he, you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage.

We both of us happened to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddlesden, the attorney, was a very knave: he had half ruined Miss Read's father, by persuading him to be bound for him: by his letter it appeared there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Mr. Hamilton, (supposed to be then coming over with us) that Keith was concerned in it, with Riddlesden. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's, thought he ought to be acquainted with it; so when he arrived in England, which was soon after, partly from resentment and ill will to Keith and Riddlesden, and partly from good will to him; I waited on him, and gave him the letter. He thanked me cordially, the information being of importance to him: and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.

But what shall we think of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly upon a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please every body; and having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer; and a good governor for the people; though not for his con-

stituents the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded: several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain, at 3s. 6d. per week; as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his intentions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him, the whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles: so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist, while he was looking out for business. He first endeavored to get into the play-house, believing himself qualified for an actor; but Wilkes, to whom he applied, advised him candidly not to think of that employment, as it was impossible he should succeed in it. Then he proposed to Roberts, a publisher in Pater-Noster-Row, to write for him a weekly paper like the Spectator, on certain conditions; which Roberts did not approve. Then he endeavored to get employment as a hackney writer, to copy for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple; but could not find a vacancy.

For myself I immediately got into work at Palmer's, a famous printing house in Bartholomew Close, where I continued near a year. I was pretty diligent, but I spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings, at plays and public amusements: we had nearly consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on from hand to mouth. He seemed quite to have forgotten his wife and child; and I by degrees my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great *errata* of my life which I could wish to correct, if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Woollaston's Religion of Nature. Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well-founded, I wrote a little me-

taphysical piece, in which I made remarks on them. It was intitled "*A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.*" I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. It occasioned my being more considered by Mr. Palmer, as a young man of some ingenuity, though he seriously expostulated with me upon the principles of my pamphlet, which to him appeared abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another *erratum*. While I lodged in *Little Britain*, I made acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use, but we agreed, that on certain reasonable terms (which I have now forgotten,) I might take, read, and return any of his books: this I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book intitled "*The Infallibility of Human Judgment;*" it occasioned an acquaintance between us: he took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale ale house in — lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to doctor Mandeville, author of the *Fable of the Bees*, who had a club there, of which he was the soul; being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons too introduced me to doctor Pemberton,^f at Ba ton's coffee-house, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

I had brought over a few curiosities, among which the principal was a purse made of the *asbestos*, which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury square, showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to add that to the number; for which he paid me handsomely.

^f F. R. S. author of "A View of sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy," and "A Treatise on Chemistry," died in 1771.

In our house lodged a young woman, a milliner, who, I think, had a shop in the cloisters: she had been genteelly bred, was sensible, lively, and of a most pleasing conversation. Ralph read plays to her in the evenings, they grew intimate, she took another lodging, and he followed her. They lived together some time, but he being still out of business, and her income not sufficient to maintain them with her child, he took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts. This however he deemed a business below him, and confident of future better fortune, when he should be unwilling to have it known that he once was so meanly employed, he changed his name, and did me the honor to assume mine: for I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village in Berkshire, (I think it was where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at 6d. each per week,) recommending Mrs. T.... to my care, and desiring me to write to him, directing for *Mr. Franklin*, schoolmaster, at such a place. He continued to write to me frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem, which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavored rather to discourage his proceeding. One of Young's satires was then just published; I copied and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses.^s All was in vain: sheets of the

“ Th’ abandoned manners of our writing train
May tempt mankind to think religion vain;
But in their fate, their habit, and their mein,
That Gods there are, is evidently seen:
Heav’n stands absolv’d by vengeance on their pen,
And marks the murderers of fame from men:
Through meagre jaws they draw their venal breath,
As ghastly as their brothers in Macbeth:
Their feet thro’ faithless leather meets the dirt,
And oftener chang’d their principles than shirt:

poem continued to come by every post. In the mean time, Mrs. T...., having on his account lost her friends and business, was often in distresses, and used to send for me, and

The transient vestments of these frugal men
 Hasten to paper for our mirth again:
 Too soon (O merry, melancholy fate!)
 They beg in rhyme, and warble thro' a grate;
 The man lampoon'd, forgets it at the sight;
 The friend thro' pity gives, the foe thro' spite;
 And though full conscious of his injur'd purse,
 Lintot relents, nor Curll can wish them worse."

"An author, 'tis a venerable name!
 How few deserve it and what numbers claim!
 Unbless'd with sense, above the peers refin'd,
 Who shall stand up, dictators to mankind?
 Nay, who dare shine, if not in virtue's cause?
 That sole proprietor of just applause.
 "Ye restless men! who pant for letter'd praise,
 With whom would you consult to gain the bays?
 With those great authors whose fam'd works you read?
 'Tis well; go, then, consult the laurel'd shade,
 What answer will the laurel'd shade return?
 Hear it and tremble, he commands you burn
 The noblest works, his envy'd genius writ,
 That boasts of naught more excellent than wit.
 If this be true, as 'tis a truth most dread,
 Wo to the page which has not that to plead!
 Fontaine and Chaucer dying, wish'd unwrote
 The sprightliest efforts of their wanton thought:
 Sidney and Waller, brightest sons of fame,
 Condemn'd the charm of ages to the flame."

"Thus ends your courted fame—does lùcre then,
 The sacred thirst of gold, betray your pen?
 In prose 'tis blameable, in verse 'tis worse,
 Provokes the Muse, extorts Apollo's curse;
 His sacred influence never should be sold;
 'Tis arrant simony to sing for gold;
 'Tis immortality should fire your mind,
 Scorn a less paymaster than all mankind."

borrow what money I could spare to help to alleviate them. I grew fond of her company, and being at that time under no religious restraint, and taking advantage of my importance to her, I attempted to take some liberties with her, (another *erratum*) which she repulsed, with a proper degree of resentment. She wrote to Ralph and acquainted him with my conduct; this occasioned a breach between us; and when he returned to London, he let me know he considered all the obligations he had been under to me as annulled: from which I concluded I was never to expect his repaying me the money I had lent him, or that I had advanced for him. This however was of little consequence, as he was totally unable; and by the loss of his friendship, I found myself relieved from a heavy burden. I now began to think of getting a little beforehand, and expecting better employment, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing house: here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into the printing house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where presswork is mixed with the composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great drinkers of beer. On occasion I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands; they wondered to see from this and several instances, that the *Water-American* as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves who drank *strong* beer! We had an alehouse boy, who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner; a pint at dinner; a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink *strong* beer that he might be *strong* to labor. I endeavored to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer, could only be in proportion to the grain or

flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread, and therefore if he could eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that vile liquor; an expense I was free from: and thus these poor devils keep themselves always under.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing room, I left the pressmen; a new *bien venu* for drink, (being five shillings) was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid one to the pressmen; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private malice practised on me, by mixing my sorts, transposing and breaking my matter, &c. &c., if ever I stepped out of the room; and all ascribed to the *chapel ghost*, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted; that notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money; convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually. I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some reasonable alterations in their *chapel*^b laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example a great many of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, bread and cheese, finding they could with me be supplied from a neighboring house, with a large porrin-

^b A printing-house is always called a *chapel*, by the workmen; the origin of which appears to have been, that printing was first carried on in England in an antient chapel converted into a printing house, and the title has been preserved by tradition. The *bien venu* among the printers answers to the terms *entrance* and *footing* among mechanics; thus a journeyman, on entering a printing house, was accustomed to pay one or more gallons of beer *for the good of the chapel*: this custom was falling into disuse thirty years ago—it is very properly rejected entirely in the United States.

ger of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbled with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer; viz. three halfpence. This was a more comfortable as well as a cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sorting with their beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with me to get beer, their *light*, as they phrased it, *being out*. I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This and my being esteemed a pretty good *rig-ite*, that is a jocular verbal satyrist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance, (I never making a *St. Monday*) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon work of dispatch, which was generally better paid: so I went on now very agreeably.

My lodgings in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke street, opposite to the Romish chapel. It was up three pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse. A widow lady kept the house; she had a daughter, and a maid servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodged abroad. After sending to inquire my character at the house where I last lodged, she agreed to take me in at the same rate, 8s. 6d. per week; cheaper, as she said, from the protection she expected in having a man to lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them, as far back as the times of Charles the Second. She was lame in her knees with the gout, and therefore seldom stirred out of her room; so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend an evening with her whenever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little slice of bread and butter, and

half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that when I talked of a lodging I had heard of, nearer my business, for 2s. a week, which, intent as I was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me 2s. a week for the future; so I remained with her at 1s. 6d. as long as I staid in London.

In a garret of her house there lived a maiden lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady gave me this account; that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodged in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where there being no nunnery, she had vowed to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly, she had given all her estate to charitable purposes, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a part in charity, living herself on water-gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had lived many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis by successive Catholic tenants of the house below, as they deemed it a blessing to have her there. A priest visited her, to confess her every day: "from this I asked her," said my landlady, "how she, as she lived, could possibly find so much employment for a confessor?" "Oh," said she, "it is impossible to avoid *vain thoughts*." I was permitted once to visit her: she was cheerful and polite, and conversed pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a mattrass, a table with a crucifix, and a book, a stool which she gave me to sit on, and a picture over the chimney of *St. Veronica* displaying her handkerchief, with the miraculous figure of Christ's bleeding face on it, which she explained to me with great seriousness. She looked pale, but was never sick, and I give it as another instance, on how small an income life and health may be supported.

At Watts's printing house, I contracted an acquaintance with an ingenious man, one Wygate, who having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and loved reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim, at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. They introduced me to some gentlemen from the country, who went to Chelsea by water, to see the college and don Saltero's curiosities. In our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfriars; performing in the way many feats of activity both upon and under the water, that surprised and pleased those to whom they were novelties. I had from a child been delighted with this exercise, had studied and practised Thevenot's motions and positions, added some of mine own; aiming at the graceful and easy, as well as the useful: all these I took this occasion of exhibiting to the company, and was much flattered by their admiration; and Wygate, who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attached to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length proposed to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves every where by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it; advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.

I must record one trait of this good man's character: he had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failed in debt to a number of people, compounded and went to America: there by a close application to business as a merchant, he acquired a plentiful fortune in a few years. Returning to England in the ship with me, he invited his old creditors to an entertainment, at which he thanked them for the easy composition they had favored him with, and when they expected nothing but the treat, every man at the first remove found under his

plate an order on a banker for the full amount of the unpaid remainder, with interest.

He now told me he was about to return to Philadelphia, and should carry over a great quantity of goods in order to open a store there: he proposed to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, (in which he would instruct me) copy his letters, and attend the store: he added, that as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me, by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread, &c. to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and if I managed well would establish me handsomely. The thing pleased me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wished again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year Pennsylvania money; less indeed than my then present gettings as a compositor, but affording better prospects.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and see them packed up, delivering messagers, calling upon workmen to dispatch, &c., and when all was on board, I had a few days' leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man. I knew only by name, (sir William Wyndham,) and I waited upon him: he had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriars, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours: he had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wished to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain; so I could not undertake it; but from the incident I thought it likely, that if I were to remain in England and open a swimming school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly, that had the overture been made me sooner, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. Many years after, you and I had some-

thing of more importance to do with one of those sons of sir William Wyndham, become earl of Egremont, which I shall mention in its place.

Thus I passed about eighteen months in London; most part of the time I worked hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays, and in books. My friend Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I loved him notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had improved my knowledge, however, though I had by no means improved my fortune: but I had made some very ingenious acquaintance, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

We sailed from Gravesend on the 23d of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my journal,ⁱ where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the *plan*^k to be found in it, which I formed at sea for regulating the future conduct of my life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite through to old age.

We landed at Philadelphia the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer governor, being superseded by major Gordon: I met him walking the streets as a common citizen: he seemed a little ashamed at seeing me, and passed without saying any thing. I should have been as much ashamed at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return, after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him,

ⁱ See Appendix.

^k This *plan* does not exist in the manuscript journal found among Dr. Franklin's papers; which appears, by a note thereon, to be a "*copy made at Reading, (N. America,) the 2d Oct. 1737.*"

refusing to cohabit with him, or bear his name, it being now said he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, though an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends: he got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728; went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supplied with stationary, plenty of new types, and a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water street, where we opened our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew in a little time expert at selling. We lodged and boarded together; he counselled me as a father, having a sincere regard for me: I respected and loved him, and we might have gone on together very happily; but in the beginning of February, 1727, when I had just passed my twenty-first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off; I suffered a good deal, gave up the point in my own mind, and was at the time rather disappointed when I found myself recovering; regretting in some degree, that I must now some time or other, have all that disagreeable work to go over again. I forgot what Mr. Denham's distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended. My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take the management of his printing house, that he might better attend to his stationer's shop. I had heard a bad character of him in London, from his wife and her friends, and was not for having any more to do with him. I wished for employment as a merchant's clerk, but not meeting with any, I closed again with Keimer. I found in his house these hands: Hugh Meredith, a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country work; he was honest, sensible, a man of

experience, and fond of reading, but addicted to drinking. Stephen Potts, a young countryman of full age, bred to the same, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humor; but a little idle. These he had agreed with at extreme low wages per week, to be raised a shilling every three months, as they should deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with. Meredith was to work at press, Potts at bookbinding, which he by agreement was to teach them, though he knew neither one nor the other. John Savage, an Irishman, brought up to no business, whose service for four years Keimer had purchased from the captain of a ship; he too was to be made a pressman. George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a compositor (of whom more presently); and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.

I soon perceived that the intention of engaging me at wages, so much higher than he had been used to give, was to have these raw, cheap hands, formed through me; and as soon as I had instructed them, (they being all articed to him) he should be able to do without me. I went however very cheerfully, put his printing house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business, and to do it better.

It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant; he was not more than eighteen years of age, and he gave me this account of himself: that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar school, and had been distinguished among the scholars for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays; belonged to the Wit's club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers; thence was sent to Oxford; there he continued about a year, but not well satisfied; wishing of all things to see London, and become a player. At length receiving his quarterly allowance of fifteen guineas, instead of discharging his

debts, he went out of town, hid his gown in a furze bush, and walked to London; where having no friend to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of being introduced among the players, grew necessitous, pawned his clothes, and wanted bread. Walking the street very hungry, and not knowing what to do with himself, a crimp's bill was put into his hand, offering immediate entertainment and encouragement to such as would bind themselves to serve in America: he went directly, signed the indentures, was put into the ship and came over; never writing a line to his friends to acquaint them what was become of him: he was lively, witty, good-natured, and a pleasant companion; but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.

John, the Irishman, soon ran away; with the rest I began to live very agreeably, for they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. We never worked on Saturday, that being Keimer's Sabbath, so that I had two days for reading. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a poor economist: he however kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-foundry in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner: however, I now contrived a mould, and made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supplied in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engraved several things on occasion; made the ink; I was warehouseman, and in short quite a *fac-totum*.

But however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improved in their business; and when Keimer paid me a second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too

heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more the airs of master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seemed ready for an out-breaking. I went on nevertheless with a good deal of patience, thinking that his incumbered circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapped our connexion; for a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer being in the street looked up and saw me, called out to me in a loud voice and an angry tone, to mind my business; adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity; all the neighbors who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing house, continued the quarrel; high words passed on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been obliged to so long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so taking my hat walked out of doors, desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, which I began to think of; he reminded me that Keimer was in debt for all he possessed, that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without a profit for ready money, and often trusted without keeping accounts: that he must therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and from some discourse that had passed between them, he was sure would advance money to set me up, if I would enter into partnership with him. My time, said he, will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we

may have our press and types in from London; I am sensible I am no workman. If you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally. The proposal was agreeable to me, and I consented: his father was in town and approved of it; the more as he said I had great influence with his son, had prevailed on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hoped might break him of that wretched habit entirely when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carried it to a merchant: the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remained idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employed to print some paper-money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types, that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtained, I contrived a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep himself longer from ruin.

At Burlington I made an acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the assembly a committee to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were therefore by turns constantly with us, and generally he who attended brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improved by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my

conversation seemed to be more valued. They had me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and shewed me much civility; while he, though the master, was a little neglected. In truth, he was an odd creature; ignorant of common life, fond of rudely opposing received opinions; slovenly to extreme dirtiness; enthusiastic in some points of religion, and a little knavish withal. We continued there near three months; and by that time I could reckon among my acquired friends, judge Allen, Samuel Bustill, the secretary of the province, Isaac Pearson, Joseph Cooper, and several of the Smiths, members of assembly, and Isaac Decow, the surveyor general. The latter was a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me that he began for himself when young, by wheeling clay for the brickmakers, learned to write after he was of age, carried the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry acquired a good estate; and said he, I foresee that you will soon work this man out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia. He had then not the least intimation of my intention to set up there or any where. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well to let you know the then state of my mind, with regard to my principles and morals, that you may see how far those influenced the future events of my life. My parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood piously in the dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen, when after doubting by turns several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of the revelation itself. Some books against deism fell into my hands, they were said to be the substance of the sermons which had been preached at Boyle's lectures. It happened that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them. For the arguments of the Deists which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a tho-

rough Deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph: but each of these having wronged me greatly without the least compunction; and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me, (who was another freethinker) and my own towards Vernon and Miss Read, which at times gave me great trouble; I began to suspect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet¹ (printed in 1725) which had for its motto, these lines of Dryden:

————— "Whatever is, is right. Tho' purblind man
Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link;
His eye not carrying to that equal beam,
That poises all above—————"

and which from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom,

¹ Dr. Franklin in a part of a letter to Mr. B. Vaughan, dated Nov. 9, 1779, gives a further account of this pamphlet, in these words.

"It was addressed to Mr. I. R., that is, *James Ralph*, then a youth of about my age, and my intimate friend; afterwards a political writer and historian. The purport of it was to prove the doctrine of fate, from the supposed attributes of God; in some such manner as this: that in erecting and governing the world, as he was infinitely wise, he knew what would be best; infinitely good, he must be disposed, and infinitely powerful, he must be able, to execute it: consequently *all is right*.

"There were only an hundred copies printed, of which I gave a few to friends, and afterwards disliking the piece, as conceiving it might have an ill tendency, I burnt the rest, except one copy, the margin of which was filled with manuscript notes by *Lyons*, author of the *Infallibility of Human Judgment*, who was at that time another of my acquaintance in London. I was not nineteen years of age when it was written. In 1730, I wrote a piece on the other side of the question, which began with laying for its foundation this fact; '*That almost all men in all ages and countries, have at times made use of PRAYER.*' Thence I reasoned, that if all things are ordained, prayer must among the rest be ordained. But as prayer can procure no change in things that are ordained, praying must then be useless, and an absurdity. God would therefore not ordain praying if every thing else was ordained. But praying exists, therefore all things are not ordained, &c. This pamphlet was never printed, and the manuscript has been long lost. The great uncertainty I found in metaphysical reasonings disgusted me, and I quitted that kind of reading and study for others more satisfactory."

goodness and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world; and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing; appeared now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument, so as to infect all that followed, as is common in metaphysical reasonings. I grew convinced that *truth*, *sincerity*, and *integrity*, in dealings between man and man, were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I formed written resolutions (which still remain in my journal book) to practise them ever while I lived. Revelation had indeed no weight with me as such; but I entertained an opinion, that though certain actions might not be bad, *because* they were forbidden by it, or good *because* it commanded them; yet probably those actions might be forbidden *because* they were bad for us, or commanded *because* they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favorable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me through this dangerous time of youth and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father; free from any *wilful* gross immorality or injustice, that might have been expected from my want of religion; I say *wilful*, because the instances I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others: I had therefore a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.

We had not been long returned to Philadelphia, before the new types arrived from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to hire near the market, and took it. To lessen the rent (which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, though I have since known it let for seventy) we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We

had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street, inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and from the gratitude I felt towards House, has made me often more ready, than perhaps I otherwise should have been, to assist young beginners.

There are croakers in every country always boding its ruin. Such an one there lived in Philadelphia, a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped me one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing house? Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost, for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half bankrupts, or near being so; all the appearances of the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents being to his certain knowledge fallacious: for they were in fact among the things that would ruin us. Then he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business probably I never should have done it. This person continued to live in this *decaying place*, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five-times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking.

I should have mentioned before, that in the autumn of the preceding year, I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member in his turn should produce

one or more queries on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy, to be discussed by the company: and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members were, Joseph Brientnal, a copyer of deeds for the scriveners; a good natured friendly middle-aged man, a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in making little nicknackeries, and of sensible conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now called *Hadley's Quadrant*. But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in every thing said, or was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation; he soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterwards surveyor general, who loved books, and sometimes made a few verses.

William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, and afterwards laughed at it: he also became surveyor general.

William Maugridge, joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb, I have characterised before.

Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends.

Lastly, William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with.

He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years; and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics, that then existed in the province; for our queries, (which were read the week preceding their discussion) put us upon reading with attention on the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose: and here too, we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other; hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further of hereafter. But my giving this account of it here, is to shew something of the interest I had, every one of these exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Briental particularly procured us from the quakers, the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon these we worked exceeding hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, *pro patria* size, in pica, with long-primer notes. I composed a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work. For the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determined I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night when having imposed my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to *pie*. I immediately distributed, and composed it over again before I went to bed: and this industry, visible to our neighbors, began to give us character and credit; particularly I was told, that mention being made of the new printing office, at the merchants' every-night club, the general opinion was that it must fail, there being already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird, (whom you and I saw many years after at his native place, St. Andrew's in Scotland) gave a contrary opinion; "For the industry of that Franklin," said he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind; I see him

still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbors are out of bed." This struck the rest, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationary; but as yet we did not chuse to engage in shop business.

I mentioned this industry the more particularly and the more freely, though it seems to be talking in my own praise, that those of my posterity who shall read it, may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favor throughout this relation.

George Webb, who had found a female friend that lent him wherewith to purchase his time of Keimer, now came to offer himself as a journeyman to us. We could not then employ him, but I foolishly let him know as a secret, that I soon intended to begin a newspaper, and might then have work for him. My hopes of success, as I told him were founded on this; that the then only newspaper printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore freely thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. I requested Webb not to mention it, but he told it to Keimer, who immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for one himself, on which Webb was to be employed. I was vexed at this, and to counteract them, not being able to commence our paper, I wrote several amusing pieces for Bradford's paper, under the title of the **BUSY BODY**, which Breintnal continued some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper however, and before carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continued; it may be that in fact

the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connexion with him, but I was to make the best of it.

Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province; a better type and better printed: but some remarks^m of my writing on the dispute then going

^m "His excellency governor Burnet, died unexpectedly about two days after the date of this reply to his last message; and it was thought the dispute would have ended with him, or at least have lain dormant till the arrival of a new governor from England, who possibly might or might not be inclined to enter too vigorously into the measures of his predecessor. But our last advices by the post acquaint us, that his honor the lieutenant-governor, (on whom the government immediately devolves upon the death or absence of the commander-in-chief,) has vigorously renewed the struggle on his own account, of which the particulars will be seen in our next.

"Perhaps some of our readers may not fully understand the original ground of this warm contest between the governor and assembly. It seems, *that* people have for these hundred years past, enjoyed the privilege of rewarding the governor for the time being, according to *their sense* of his merit and services; and few or none of their governors have complained, or had cause to complain, of a scanty allowance. When the late governor Burnet brought with him instructions to demand a *settled salary* of 1000 pounds sterling per annum, on him and all his successors, and the assembly were required to fix it immediately: he insisted on it strenuously to the last, and they as constantly refused it. It appears by their votes and proceedings, that they thought it an imposition, contrary to their own charter, and to *Magna Charta*; and they judged that there should be a mutual dependence between the *governor* and *governed*; and that to make the governor independent would be dangerous and destructive to their liberties, and the ready way to establish tyranny. They thought likewise that the province was not the less dependent on the crown of *Great Britain*, by the governor's depending immediately on them, and his own good conduct, for an ample support; because all acts and laws, which he might be induced to pass, must nevertheless be constantly sent home for approbation, in order to continue in force. Many other reasons were given, and arguments used in the course of the controversy, needless to particularise here, because all the material papers relating to it have been already given in our public news.

on between governor Burnet, and the Massachusetts assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading men seeing a newspaper, now in the hands of those who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the house to the governor, in a coarse, blundering manner: we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference, it strengthened the hands of our friends in the house, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing.

Among my friends in the house, I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned, who was then returned from England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me

“Much deserved praise has the deceased governor received for his steady integrity in adhering to his instructions, notwithstanding the great difficulty and opposition he met with, and the strong temptations offered from time to time to induce him to give up the point. And yet, perhaps, something is due to the assembly, (as the love and zeal of that country for the present establishment is too well known to suffer any suspicion of want of loyalty) who continue thus resolutely to abide by what *they think* their right, and that of the people they represent; maugre all the arts and menaces of a governor, famed for his cunning and politics, backed with instructions from home, and powerfully aided by the great advantage such an officer always has of engaging the principal men of a place in his party, by conferring where he pleases, so many posts of profit and honor. Their happy mother country will perhaps observe, with pleasure, that though her gallant cocks and matchless dogs abate their natural fire and intrepidity, when transported to a foreign clime, (as this nation is) yet her sons in the remotest part of the earth, and even to the third and fourth descent, still retain that ardent spirit of liberty, and that undaunted courage, which has in every age so gloriously distinguished BRITONS and ENGLISHMEN, from the rest of mankind.”

strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterwards continuing his patronage till his death.^a

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt I owed him, but did not press me. I wrote him an ingenuous letter of acknowledgment, craving his forbearance a little longer, which he allowed me; as soon as I was able, I paid the principal with the interest, and many thanks: so that *erratum* was in some degree corrected.

But now another difficulty came upon me, which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid; and a hundred more was due to the merchant, who grew impatient, and sued us all. We gave bail, but saw that if the money could not be raised in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must with us be ruined; as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price. In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget, while I can remember any thing, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and without any application from me, offered each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith; who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the street, playing at low games in alehouses, much to our discredit—these two friends were *William Coleman* and *Robert Grace*. I told them I could not propose a separation, while any prospect remained of the Merediths fulfilling their part of our agreement; because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could: but if they finally failed in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolved, I should

^a I afterwards obtained for his son *five hundred pounds*.

then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friends: thus the matter rested for some time; when I said to my partner, perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours, and is unwilling to advance for you and me, what he would for you? If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business. No, said he, my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer, and it was a folly in me to come to town and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment: you may find friends to assist you: if you will take the debts of the company upon you, return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership, and leave the whole in your hands. I agreed to this proposal; it was drawn up in writing, signed and sealed immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina; whence he sent me, next year, two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, husbandry, &c., for in those matters he was very judicious: I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone, I recurred to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half what each had offered, and I wanted, of one, and half of the other; paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name; advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1729.

About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper-money; only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition; being against all paper curren-

cy, from the apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the injury of all creditors. We had discussed this point in our junto, where I was on the side of an addition; being persuaded that the first small sum, struck in 1723, had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province; since I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones building; whereas I remembered well when I first walked about the streets of Philadelphia, (eating my roll,) I saw many of the houses in Walnut street, between Second and Front streets, with bills on their doors “*to be let;*” and many likewise in Chestnut street, and other streets; which made me think the inhabitants of the city were one after another deserting it. Our debates possessed me so fully of the subject, that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled “*The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency.*” It was well received by the common people in general; but the rich men disliked it, for it increased and strengthened the clamor for more money; and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slackened, and the point was carried by a majority in the house. My friends there, who considered I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me, by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job, and a great help to me: this was another advantage gained by my being able to write.

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident, that the principles upon which it was founded, were never afterwards much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds; and in 1739, to eighty thousand pounds; trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing: though I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

I soon after obtained through my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper-money, another profitable job, as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances: and these to me were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. Mr.

Hamilton procured me also the printing of the laws and votes of that government; which continued in my hands as long as I followed the business.

I now opened a small stationer's shop: I had in it blanks of all kinds; the correctest that ever appeared among us. I was assisted in that by my friend Breintnal: I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books, &c. One Whitemash, a compositor I had known in London, an excellent workman, now came to me, and worked with me constantly and diligently; and I took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid the appearances to the contrary. I dressed plain, and was seen at no places of idle diversion: I never went out a fishing or shooting: a book indeed sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, was private, and gave no scandal: and to shew that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores, through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationary solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on prosperously. In the mean time Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing house, to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with him, set up in his place at Philadelphia, having bought his materials. I was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival in Harry, as his friends were very able, and had a good deal of interest: I therefore proposed a partnership to him, which he fortunately for me, rejected with scorn. He was very proud, dressed like a gentleman, lived expensively, took much diversion and pleasure abroad, ran in debt, and neglected his business; upon which, all business left

him; and finding nothing to do, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking the printing house with him. There this apprentice employed his former master as a journeyman; they quarreled often, and Harry went continually behind hand, and at length was obliged to sell his types, and return to country-work in Pennsylvania. The person who bought them, employed Keimer to use them, but a few years after he died.

There remained now no other printer in Philadelphia, but the old Bradford; but he was rich and easy, did a little in the business by straggling hands, but was not anxious about it: however as he held the post-office, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news, his paper was thought a better distributor of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more; which was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me. For though I did indeed receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise; for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately; Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasioned some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of the practice, that when I afterwards came into his situation, I took care never to imitate it.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who lived in part of my house with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business; though he worked little, being always absorbed in his mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me, with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensued; the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encouraged me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey managed our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing house; which I believe was not then above an hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare: I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this after some days was, that they did not ap-

prove the match; that on inquiry of Bradford, they had been informed the printing buisness was not a profitable one, the types would soon be worn out and more wanted; that Keimer and David Harry had failed one after the other, and I should probably soon follow them; and therefore I was forbidden the house, and the daughter shut up. Whether this was a real change of sentiment, or only artifice on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleased, I know not. But I suspected the motive, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterwards some more favorable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys, we differed, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates. But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such an one, as I should not otherwise think agreeable. In the mean time that hard to be governed passion of youth, had hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risque to my health by a distemper, which of all things I dreaded, though by great good luck I escaped it.

A friendly correspondence as neighbors had continued between me and Miss Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company: I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London, as in a great degree the cause

of her unhappiness; though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union; that match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be proved, because of the distance, &c., and though there was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, though it should be true, he had left many debts which his successor might be called upon to pay: we ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife, September 1, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavored to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

About this time our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose; a proposition was made by me, that since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them all together where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books to a common library, we should while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was liked and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated; and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library; I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the junto, procured fifty sub-

scribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing: these libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

[Thus far was written with the intention expressed in the beginning; and getting abroad, it excited great interest on account of its simplicity and candor; and induced many applications for a continuance. What follows was written many years after, in compliance with the advice contained in the letters that follow: and has therefore less of a family picture, and more of a public character. The American revolution occasioned the interruption.]

MEMOIRS
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
&c. &c.

PART II.

Letter from Mr. Abel James, with Notes on my Life,
(Received in Paris.)

“MY DEAR AND HONORED FRIEND,

“I HAVE often been desirous of writing to thee, but could not be reconciled to the thought, that the letter might fall into the hands of the British, lest some printer or busy body should publish some part of the contents, and give our friend pain, and myself censure.

“Some time since there fell into my hands, to my great joy, about twenty-three sheets in thy own hand-writing, containing an account of the parentage and life of thyself, directed to thy son, ending in the year 1730, with which there were notes, likewise in thy writing; a copy of which I inclose, in hopes it may be a means, if thou continued it up to a later period, that the first and latter part may be put together; and if it is not yet continued, I hope thee will not delay it. Life is uncertain, as the preacher tells us; and what will the world say if kind, humane, and benevolent Ben. Franklin should leave his friends and the world deprived of so pleasing and profitable a work; a work which would be useful and entertaining not only to a few, but to millions. The influence writings under that class have on the minds of youth is very great, and has no where appeared to me so plain, as in our public friend's journals. It almost insensibly leads the youth into the resolution of endeavoring to become as good and eminent

as the journalist. Should thine, for instance, when published, (and I think it could not fail of it,) lead the youth to equal the industry and temperance of thy early youth, what a blessing with that class would such a work be! I know of no character living, nor many of them put together, who has so much in his power as thyself to promote a greater spirit of industry and early attention to business, frugality, and temperance with the American youth. Not that I think the work would have no other merit and use in the world, far from it; but the first is of such vast importance, that I know nothing that can equal it."

The foregoing letter and the minutes accompanying it being shewn to a friend, I received from him the following:

Letter from Mr. Benjamin Vaughan.

Paris, January 31, 1783.

"MY DEAREST SIR,

"WHEN I had read over your sheets of minutes of the principal incidents of your life, recovered for you by your Quaker acquaintance; I told you I would send you a letter expressing my reasons, why I thought it would be useful to complete and publish it as he desired. Various concerns have for some time past prevented this letter being written, and I do not know whether it was worth any expectation; happening to be at leisure however at present, I shall by writing at least interest and instruct myself; but as the terms I am inclined to use may tend to offend a person of your manners, I shall only tell you how I would address any other person, who was as good and as great as yourself, but less diffident. I would say to him, sir, I *solicit* the history of your life from the following motives.

"Your history is so remarkable, that if you do not give it, somebody else will certainly give it; and perhaps so as nearly to do as much harm, as your own management of the thing might do good.

“It will moreover present a table of the internal circumstances of your country, which will very much tend to invite to it settlers of virtuous and manly minds. And considering the eagerness with which such information is sought by them, and the extent of your reputation, I do not know of a more efficacious advertisement than your biography would give.

“All that has happened to you is also connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a *rising* people; and in this respect I do not think that the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus can be more interesting to a true judge of human nature and society.

“But these, sir, are small reasons in my opinion, compared with the chance which your life will give for the forming of future great men; and in conjunction with your *Art of Virtue* (which you design to publish) of improving the features of private character, and consequently of aiding all happiness both public and domestic.

The two works I allude to, sir, will in particular give a noble rule and example of *self-education*. School and other education constantly proceed upon false principles, and shew a clumsy apparatus pointed at a false mark; but your apparatus is simple, and the mark a true one; and while parents and young persons are left destitute of other just means of estimating and becoming prepared for a reasonable course in life, your discovery that the thing is in many a man's private power, will be invaluable!

“Influence upon the private character, late in life, is not only an influence late in life, but a weak influence. It is in *youth* that we plant our chief habits and prejudices; it is in youth that we take our party as to profession, pursuits, and matrimony. In youth therefore the turn is given; in youth the education even of the next generation is given; in youth the private and public character is determined; and the term of life extending but from youth to age, life ought to begin well from youth; and more especially *before* we take our party as to our principal objects.

“ But your biography will not merely teach self-education but the education of *a wise man*; and the wisest man will receive lights and improve his progress, by seeing detailed the conduct of another wise man. And why are weaker men to be deprived of such helps, when we see our race has been blundering on in the dark, almost without a guide in this particular, from the farthest trace of time. Shew then, sir, how much is to be done, *both to sons and fathers*; and invite all wise men to become like yourself; and other men to become wise.

“ When we see how cruel statesmen and warriors can be to the human race, and how absurd distinguished men can be to their acquaintance, it will be instructive to observe the instances multiply of pacific acquiescing manners; and to find how compatible it is to be great and *domestic*; enviable and yet *good humored*.

“ The little private incidents which you will also have to relate, will have considerable use, as we want above all things, *rules of prudence in ordinary affairs*; and it will be curious to see how you have acted in these. It will be so far a sort of key to life, and explain many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight.

“ The nearest thing to having experience of one's own, is to have other people's affairs brought before us in a shape that is interesting; this is sure to happen from your pen. Your affairs and management will have an air of simplicity or importance that will not fail to strike; and I am convinced you have conducted them with as much originality as if you had been conducting discussions in politics or philosophy; and what more worthy of experiments and system, (its importance and its errors considered) than human life!

“ Some men have been virtuous blindly, others have speculated fantastically, and others have been shrewd to bad purposes; but you, sir, I am sure, will give under your hand, nothing but what is at the same moment, wise, practical, and good.

“Your account of yourself (for I suppose the parallel I am drawing for Dr. Franklin, will hold not only in point of character but of private history) will shew that you are ashamed of no origin; a thing the more important, as you prove how little necessary all origin is to happiness, virtue, or greatness.

“As no end likewise happens without a means, so we shall find sir, that even you yourself framed a plan by which you became considerable; but at the same time we may see that though the event is flattering, the means are as simple as wisdom could make them; that is depending upon nature, virtue, thought, and habit.

“Another thing demonstrated will be the propriety of every man’s waiting for his time for appearing upon the stage of the world. Our sensations being very much fixed to the moment, we are apt to forget that more moments are to follow the first, and consequently that man should arrange his conduct so as to suit the *whole* of a life. Your attribution appears to have been applied to your *life*, and the passing moments of it have been enlivened with content and enjoyment, instead of being tormented with foolish impatience or regrets. Such a conduct is easy for those who make virtue and themselves their standard, and who try to keep themselves in countenance by examples of other truly great men, of whom patience is so often the characteristic.

“Your Quaker correspondent, sir, (for here again I will suppose the subject of my letter resembling Dr. Franklin,) praised your frugality, diligence, and temperance, which he considered as a pattern for all youth: but it is singular that he should have forgotten your modesty, and your disinterestedness, without which you never could have waited for your advancement, or found your situation in the mean time comfortable; which is a strong lesson to shew the poverty of glory, and the importance of regulating our minds.

“If this correspondent had known the nature of your reputation as well as I do, he would have said; your former writings and measures would secure attention to your Biography, and Art of Virtue; and your Biography and Art of

Virtue, in return, would secure attention to them. This is an advantage attendant upon a various character, and which brings all that belongs to it into greater play; and it is the more useful, as perhaps more persons are at a loss for the *means* of improving their minds and characters, than they are for the time or the inclination to do it.

“ But there is one concluding reflection, sir, that will shew the use of your life as a mere piece of biography. This style of writing seems a little gone out of vogue, and yet it is a very useful one; and your specimen of it may be particularly serviceable, as it will make a subject of comparison with the lives of various public cut-throats and intriguers, and with absurd monastic self-tormenters, or vain literary triflers. If it encourages more writings of the same kind with your own, and induces more men to spend lives fit to be written; it will be worth all Plutarch’s Lives put together.

“ But being tired of figuring to myself a character of which every feature suits only one man in the world, without giving him the praise of it; I shall end my letter, my dear Dr. Franklin, with a personal application to your proper self.

“ I am earnestly desirous then, my dear sir, that you should let the world into the traits of your genuine character, as civil broils may otherwise tend to disguise or traduce it. Considering your great age, the caution of your character, and your peculiar style of thinking, it is not likely that any one besides yourself can be sufficiently master of the facts of your life, or the intentions of your mind.

“ Besides all this, the immense revolution of the present period, will necessarily turn our attention towards the author of it; and when virtuous principles have been pretended in it, it will be highly important to shew that such have really influenced; and, as your own character will be the principal one to receive a scrutiny, it is proper (even for its effects upon your vast and rising country, as well as upon England and upon Europe), that it should stand respectable and eter-

nal. For the furtherance of human happiness, I have always maintained that it is necessary to prove that man is not even at present a vicious and detestable animal; and still more to prove that good management may greatly amend him; and it is for much the same reason, that I am anxious to see the opinion established, that there are fair characters existing among the individuals of the race; for the moment that all men, without exception, shall be conceived abandoned, good people will cease efforts deemed to be hopeless, and perhaps think of taking their share in the scramble of life, or at least of making it comfortable principally for themselves.

“Take then, my dear sir, this work most speedily into hand: shew yourself good as you are good; temperate as you are temperate; and above all things, prove yourself as one who from your infancy have loved justice, liberty, and concord, in a way that has made it natural and consistent for you to have acted, as we have seen you act in the last seventeen years of your life. Let Englishmen be made not only to respect, but even to love you. When they think well of individuals in your native country, they will go nearer to thinking well of your country; and when your countrymen see themselves well thought of by Englishmen, they will go nearer to thinking well of England. Extend your views even further; do not stop at those who speak the English tongue, but after having settled so many points in nature and politics think of bettering the whole race of men.

“As I have not read any part of the life in question, but know only the character that lived it, I write somewhat at hazard. I am sure however, that the life, and the treatise I allude to (on the *Art of Virtue*), will necessarily fulfil the chief of my expectations; and still more so if you take up the measure of suiting these performances to the several views above stated. Should they even prove unsuccessful in all that a sanguine admirer of yours hopes from them, you will at least have framed pieces to interest the human mind; and whoever gives a feeling of pleasure that is innocent to man,

has added so much to the fair side of a life otherwise too much darkened by anxiety, and too much injured by pain.

“In the hope therefore that you will listen to the prayer addressed to you in this letter, I beg to subscribe myself, my dearest sir, &c. &c.

“Signed

BENJ. VAUGHAN.”

CONTINUATION,

Begun at Passy near Paris, 1784.

IT is some time since I received the above letters, but I have been too busy till now to think of complying with the request they contain. It might too be much better done if I were at home among my papers, which would aid my memory, and help to ascertain dates; but my return being uncertain, and having just now a little leisure, I will endeavor to recollect and write what I can: if I live to get home, it may there be corrected and improved.

Not having any copy here of what is already written, I know not whether an account is given of the means I used to establish the Philadelphia public library; which from a small beginning is now become so considerable. Though I remember to have come down near the time of that transaction, (1730.) I will therefore begin here with an account of it, which may be struck out if found to have been already given.*

At the time I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia, the printers were indeed stationers, but they sold only paper, &c. almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their

* Only a short account of this subject, having been given at the close of the first part of the life, it was thought advisable not to suppress this fuller one.

books from England: the members of the junto had each a few. We had left the alehouse, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I proposed that we should all of us bring our books to that room; where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wished to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us: finding the advantage of this little collection, I proposed to render the benefit from the books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brogden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed; by which each subscriber engaged to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of the books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able with great industry to find more than fifty persons, (mostly young tradesmen,) willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum; with this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was open one day in the week for lending them to subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books; and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed, and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

When we were about to sign the abovementioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, &c. for fifty years; Mr. Brogden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarce probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fixed in the instrument." A number of us however are yet living: but the instrument was

after a few years rendered null, by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.

The objections and reluctances I met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting oneself as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbors, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends*, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and from my frequent successes can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself will be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day; and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing house, I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had two competitors to contend with for business, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances however grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a Proverb of Solomon, "*seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men.*" I thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think that I should ever literally stand before kings,

which however has since happened; for I have stood before five, and even had the honor of sitting down with one, (the king of Denmark,) to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says,

“He that would thrive

“Must ask his wife;”

it was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper makers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk, (no tea) and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon: but mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress in spite of principle; being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl, with a spoon of silver. They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; but though some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as *the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, &c.* appeared to me unintelligible, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, (Sunday being my studying day.) I never was without some religious principles: I never doubted, for instance, the existence of a Deity, that he made the world, and governed it by his providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crimes will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter; these I esteemed the essentials of every religion, and being to be found in all the

religions we had in our country, I respected them all, though with different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less mixed with other articles, which without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, served principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some effects, induced me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increased in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.

Though I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He used to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations; and I was now and then prevailed on to do so; once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study: but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be rather to make us *Presbyterians* than *good citizens*. At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter to the Phillippians, "*Finally brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise, think on these things.*" And I imagined in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle; viz. Keeping holy the Sabbath day. 2. Being diligent in reading the holy scriptures. 3. Attending duly the public worship. 4. Partaking of the sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to

God's ministers. These might be all good things, but as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more. I had some years before composed a little liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use, (viz. in 1728,) entitled *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion*. I returned to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blameable, but I leave it without attempting further to excuse it; my present purpose being to relate facts and not to make apologies for them.

It was about this time I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection*; I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not *always* do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined: while my attention was taken up, and care employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another: habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded at length that the mere speculative conviction, that it was our interest to be completely virtuous, was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependance on a steady uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore tried the following method.

In the various enumerations of the *moral virtues* I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. *Temperance* for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking; while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I proposed to myself, for the sake of

clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annexed to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues, all that at that time occurred to me as necessary or desirable; and annexed to each a short precept, which fully expressed the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of *virtues*, with their precepts, were;

1. **TEMPERANCE.**—Eat not to dulness: drink not to elevation.

2. **SILENCE.**—Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself: avoid trifling conversation.

3. **ORDER.**—Let all your things have their places: let each part of your business have its time.

4. **RESOLUTION.**—Resolve to perform what you ought: perform without fail what you resolve.

5. **FRUGALITY.**—Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself: i. e. waste nothing.

6. **INDUSTRY.**—Lose no time: be always employed in something useful: cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. **SINCERITY.**—Use no hurtful deceit: think innocently and justly: and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. **JUSTICE.**—Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. **MODERATION.**—Avoid extremes: forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. **CLEANLINESS.**—Tolerate no uncleanness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. **TRANQUILLITY.**—Be not disturbed at trifles, nor at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. **CHASTITY.**—Rarely use venery, but for health or offspring; never to dulness or weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.

13. **HUMILITY.**—Imitate *Jesus* and *Socrates*.

My intention being to acquire the *habitude* of all these virtues, I judged it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on *one* of them at a time; and when I should be master of that, then to pro-

ceed to another; and so on till I should have gone through the thirteen: and as the previous acquisition of some, might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arranged them with that view as they stand above. *Temperance* first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and a guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, *Silence* would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improved in virtue; and considering that in conversation it was obtained rather by the use of the ear than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of *prattling, punning, and jesting*, (which only made me acceptable to trifling company) I gave *Silence* the second place. This and the next, *Order*, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. *Resolution* once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavors to obtain all the subsequent virtues. *Frugality* and *Industry* relieving me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of *Sincerity* and *Justice*, &c. &c. Conceiving then, that agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his Golden Verses, daily examination would be necessary; I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I ruled each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I crossed these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues; on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue, upon that day.^p

^p This little book is dated *Sunday, 1st July, 1733*, and is in the possession of Mr. W. T. Franklin: a copy was also in the possession of the late B. F. Baché.

Form of the pages.

TEMPERANCE.

Eat not to dulness: drink not to elevation.

	Sun.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
Tem.							
Sil.	*	*		*		*	
Ord.	*	*	*		*	*	*
Res.		*				*	
Fru.		*				*	
Ind.			*				
Sinc.							
Jus.							
Mod.							
Clea.							
Tran.							
Chas.							
Hum.							

I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every the least offence against *Temperance*; leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line marked T. clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthened, and its opposite weakened, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next; and for the following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could get through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four

courses in a year. And like him who having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, (which would exceed his reach and his strength,) but works on one of the beds at a time, and having accomplished the first, proceeds to a second; so I should have (I hoped) the encouraging pleasure, of seeing on my pages the progress made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots; till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.

This my little book had for its motto, these lines from Addison's Cato:

*"Here will I hold: if there 's a power above us,
(And that there is, all nature cries aloud
Through all her works:) he must delight in virtue;
And that which he delights in must be happy."*

Another from Cicero,

*"O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix expul-
trixque vitiorum! Unus Dies bene, et ex præceptis tuis actus,
peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus."*

Another from the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue:

*"Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand
riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all
her paths are peace."*

And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefixed to my tables of examination, for daily use.

*"O powerful goodness! bountiful father! merciful guide!
Increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interest:
Strengthen my resolution to perform what that wisdom dictates:
Accept my kind offices to thy other children, as the only return
in my power for thy continual favors to me."*

I used also sometimes a little prayer, which I took from Thomson's Poems, viz.

*"Father of light and life, thou God supreme!
 O teach me what is good; teach me thyself!
 Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
 From every low pursuit; and fill my soul
 With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure;
 Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!"*

The precept of *Order*, requiring that *every part of my business should have its allotted time*, one page in my little book contained the following scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day.

SCHEME.

Hours.		
<i>Morning.</i> The Ques. What good shall I do this day?	5	} Rise, wash, and address <i>Powerful Goodness!</i> contrive day's business, and take the resolution of the day; prosecute the present study, and breakfast.
	6	
	7	
	8	} Work.
	9	
	10	
	11	
<i>Noon.</i>	{ 12	} Read, or look over my accounts and dine.
	1	
<i>Afternoon.</i>	{ 2	} Work.
	3	
	4	
	5	
<i>Evening.</i> The Ques. What good have I done to day?	{ 6	} Put things in their places. Supper, Music or diversion, or conversation. Examination of the day.
	7	
	8	
	9	
<i>Night.</i>	{ 10	} Sleep.
	11	
	12	
	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	

I entered upon the execution of this plan for self-examination, and continued it with occasional intermissions for some time. I was surprised to find myself so much fuller of faults

than I had imagined; but I had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To avoid the trouble of renewing now and then my little book, which by scraping out the marks on the paper of old faults to make room for new ones in a new course, became full of holes, I transformed my tables and precepts to the ivory leaves of a memorandum book,^a on which the lines were drawn with red ink, that made a durable stain; and on those lines I marked my faults with a black lead pencil; which marks I could easily wipe out with a wet sponge. After a while I went through one course only in a year; and afterwards only one in several years; till at length I omitted them entirely, being employed in voyages and business abroad, with a multiplicity of affairs, that interfered; but I always carried my little book with me. My scheme of *Order* gave me the most trouble; and I found that though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer for instance, it was not possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world, and often receive people of business at their own hours. Order too, with regard to places for things, papers, &c. I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to *method*, and having an exceeding good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article therefore cost me much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character in that respect. Like the man who in buying an axe of a smith my neighbor, desired to have the whole of its surface as bright as the edge: the smith consented to grind it bright for him if he would turn the wheel: he turned while the smith pressed the broad face of the axe hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing.

^a This also is in the possession of the editor, W. T. Franklin.

'The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on; and at length would take his axe as it was, without further grinding. No, said the smith, turn on, turn on, we shall have it bright by and by; as yet 'tis only speckled. Yes, said the man, but "*I think I like a speckled axe best.*" And I believe this may have been the case with many, who having for want of some such means as I employed, found the difficulty of obtaining good and breaking bad habits in other points of vice and virtue, have given up the struggle, and concluded that "*a speckled axe was best.*" For something, that pretended to be reason, was every now and then suggesting to me, that such extreme nicety as I exacted of myself might be a kind of foppery in morals, which if it were known, would make me ridiculous; that a perfect character might be attended with the inconvenience of being envied and hated; and that a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself, to keep his friends in countenance. In truth I found myself incorrigible with respect to *Order*; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was by the endeavor, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavor, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should be informed, that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor owed the constant felicity of his life down to his 79th year, in which this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence: but if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoyed, ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To *Temperance* he ascribes his long continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution. To *Industry and Frugality*, the early easiness of his circumstances, and acquisition of his fortune,

with all that knowledge that enabled him to be an useful citizen and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned. To *Sincerity* and *Justice*, the confidence of his country, and the honorable employs it conferred upon him: and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of temper and that cheerfulness in conversation which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his young acquaintance: I hope therefore that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.

It will be remarked that, though my scheme was not wholly without religion, there was in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect; I had purposely avoided them; for being fully persuaded of the utility and excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have any thing in it, that should prejudice any one, of any sect, against it. I proposed writing a little comment on each virtue, in which I would have shewn the advantages of possessing it, and the mischiefs attending its opposite vice; I should have called my book *The Art of Virtue*, because it would have shewn the means and manner of obtaining virtue, which would have distinguished it from the mere exhortation to be good, that does not instruct and indicate the means; but is like the apostle's man of verbal charity, who without shewing to the naked and hungry, how or where they might get clothes or victuals, only exhorted them to be fed and clothed. *James ii. 15, 16.*

But it so happened that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I had indeed from time to time put down short hints of the sentiments, reasonings, &c. to be made use of in it; some of which I have still by me: but the necessary close attention to private business, in the earlier part of life; and public business since, have occasioned my postponing it. For it being connected in my mind with *a great and extensive project*, that required the whole

man to execute, and which an unforeseen succession of employs prevented my attending to, it has hitherto remained unfinished.

In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, *that vicious actions are not hurtful, because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful*; the nature of man alone considered: that it was therefore every one's interest to be virtuous, who wished to be happy even in this world: and I should from this circumstance, (there being always in the world a number of rich merchants, nobility, states and princes who have need of honest instruments for the management of their affairs, and such being so rare) have endeavored to convince young persons, that no qualities are so likely to make a poor man's fortune, as those of *probity and integrity*.

My list of virtues contained at first but twelve: but a quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride shewed itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent; (of which he convinced me by mentioning several instances) I determined to endeavor to cure myself if I could of this vice or folly among the rest; and I added *Humility* to my list, giving an extensive meaning to the word. I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of mine own. I even forbid myself, agreeably to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion; such as *certainly, undoubtedly, &c.* and I adopted instead of them, *I conceive, I apprehend, or I imagine*, a thing to be so, or so; or it so *appears to me at present*. When another asserted some thing that I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of shewing immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing, that in certain cases or

circumstances, his opinion would be right, but in the present case there *appeared*, or *seemed to me*, some difference, &c. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manners; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions, procured them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong, and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right. And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for the fifty years past no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing, that I had early so much weight with my fellow-citizens, when I proposed new institutions, or alterations in the old; and so much influence in public councils, when I became a member: for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my point.

In reality there is perhaps no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *Pride*; disguise it, struggle with it, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it perhaps often in this history. For even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be *proud* of my *humility*.

[Here concludes what was written at Passy, near Paris.]

MEMORANDUM.

I am now about to write at home (Philadelphia), August 1788, but cannot have the help expected from my papers, many of them being lost in the war. I have however found the following;

Having mentioned a great and extensive project which I had conceived, it seems proper, that some account should be

here given of that project and its object. Its first rise in my mind appears in the abovementioned little paper, accidentally preserved, viz.

OBSERVATIONS on my reading history, in library, May 9, 1731.

“That the great affairs of the world, the wars, revolutions, &c. are carried on and effected by parties.

“That the view of these parties is their present general interest; or what they take to be such.

“That the different views of these different parties occasion all confusion.

“That while a party is carrying on a general design, each man has his particular private interest in view.

“That as soon as a party has gained its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest, which thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions and occasions more confusion.

“That few in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and though their actings bring real good to their country, yet men primarily considered that their own and their country's interest were united, and so did not act from a principle of benevolence.

“That fewer still, in public affairs, act with a view to the good of mankind.

“There seems to me at present to be great occasion for raising an *United Party for Virtue*, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be governed by suitable good and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.

“I at present think, that whoever attempts this aright, and is well qualified, cannot fail of pleasing God, and of meeting with success.

B. F.”

Revolving this project in my mind, as to be undertaken hereafter, when my circumstances should afford me the necessary leisure, I put down from time to time on pieces of

paper such thoughts as occurred to me respecting it. Most of these are lost, but I find one purporting to be the substance of an intended creed, containing as I thought the essentials of every known religion, and being free of every thing that might shock the professors of any religion. It is expressed in these words; viz.

“That there is one God, who made all things.

“That he governs the world by his providence.

“That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

“But that the most acceptable service to God, is doing good to man.

“That the soul is immortal.

“And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter.”

My ideas at that time were, that the sect should be begun and spread at first, among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen weeks' examination and practice of the virtues, as in the beforementioned model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons; but that the members should, each of them, search among his acquaintance for ingenious, well-disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated. That the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in promoting one another's interest, business, and advancement in life: that for distinction, we should be called **THE SOCIETY OF THE FREE AND EASY**. Free, as being by the general practice and habits of the virtues, free from the dominion of vice; and particularly by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to constraint, and a species of slavery to his creditors.

This is as much as I can now recollect of the project, except that I communicated it in part to two young men, who

adopted it with enthusiasm: but my then narrow circumstances, and the necessity I was under of sticking close to my business, occasioned my postponing the further prosecution of it at that time, and my multifarious occupations, public and private, induced me to continue postponing, so that it has been omitted, till I have no longer strength or activity left sufficient for such an enterprise. Though I am still of opinion it was a practicable scheme, and might have been very useful, by forming a great number of good citizens: and I was not discouraged by the seeming magnitude of the undertaking, as I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities, may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan; and cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan, his sole study and business.

In 1732, I first published my Almanack under the name of *Richard Saunders*; it was continued by me about twenty-five years, and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanack*. I endeavored to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, (scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it,) I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar, with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as (to use here one of those proverbs) "*it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*" These proverbs which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanack of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction: the bringing all these scattered counsels thus into a fo-

cus, enabled them to make greater impression. The piece being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the American Continent, reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication.^r

I considered my newspaper also as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the Spectator, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of mine own which had been first composed for reading in our *Junto*. Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove, that whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure till its practice became a *habitude*, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations: these may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735. In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert any thing of that kind, and the writers pleaded (as they generally did) the liberty of the press; and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place; my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself; but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation in which

^r See Vol. IV. p. 236, of this edition.

they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals, by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are moreover so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they be encouraged not to pollute the presses, and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily, as they may see by my example, that such a course of conduct will not on the whole be injurious to their interests.

In 1733, I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnished him with a press and letters, on an agreement of partnership, by which I was to receive one-third of the profits of the business, paying one-third of the expense. He was a man of learning, but ignorant in matters of account; and though he sometimes made me remittances, I could get no account from him, nor any satisfactory state of our partnership while he lived. On his decease the business was continued by his widow, who being born and bred in Holland, where, (as I have been informed,) the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education; she not only sent me as clear a statement as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter afterwards; and managed the business with such success, that she not only reputably brought up a family of children, but at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it. I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young women, as likely to be of more use to them and their children in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing; by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with established correspon-

dence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it; to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family.

About the year 1734, there arrived among us a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, and apparently extempore, most excellent discourses; which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who joined in admiring them. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called good works. Those however of our congregation who considered themselves as orthodox Presbyterians, disapproved his doctrine, and were joined by most of the old ministers, who arraigned him of heterodoxy before the synod, in order to have him silenced. I became his zealous partisan, and contributed all I could to raise a party in his favor, and combated for him awhile with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling *pro* and *con* upon the occasion; and finding that though an elegant preacher, he was but a poor writer, I wrote for him two or three pamphlets, and a piece in the Gazette of April, 1735. Those pamphlets, as is generally the case with controversial writings, though eagerly read at the time, were soon put out of vogue, and I question whether a single copy of them now exists.

During the contest an unlucky occurrence hurt his cause exceedingly. One of our adversaries having heard him preach a sermon that was much admired, thought he had somewhere read the sermon before, or at least a part of it. On searching he found that part quoted at length in one of the British Reviews, from a Discourse of Dr. Foster's. This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause, and occasioned our more speedy discomfiture in the synod. I stuck by him however; I rather approved of his giving us good sermons composed by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture; though the latter was the practice of our common teachers. He afterwards acknowledged to me that none of those he preached were his own; adding, that his

memory was such as enabled him to retain and repeat any sermon after once reading only. On our defeat he left us in search elsewhere of better fortune, and I quitted the congregation, never attending it after; though I continued many years my subscription for the support of its ministers.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French, as to be able to read the books in that language with ease: I then undertook the Italian: an acquaintance who was also learning it, used often to tempt me to play chess with him: finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either of parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, &c. which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honor before our next meeting: as we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little pains-taking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also. I have already mentioned that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood more of that language than I had imagined; which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with the more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way. From these circumstances, I have thought there was some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are derived from it: and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true that if we can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, we shall more easily gain them in descending; but certainly if we begin with the low-

est, we shall with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether,—since many of those who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost—it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, and Latin. For though after spending the same time they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would however have acquired another tongue or two that being in modern use might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations, which I could not sooner afford. In returning I called at Newport to see my brother James, then settled there with his printing house; our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate: he was fast declining in health, and requested of me, that in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736, I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the small pox, taken in the common way. I long regretted him bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example shewing that the regret may be the same either way, and therefore that the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the *Junto*, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that some were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number; viz. twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observed; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those who were against any addition to our number, but instead of it made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules, respecting queries, &c. and without informing them of the connection with the *Junto*. The advantages proposed were the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the *junto* member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the *Junto*, what passed in his separate club: the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the *Junto*. The project was approved, and every member undertook to form his club: but they did not all succeed. Five or six only were completed, which were called by different names, as the *Vine*, the *Union*, the *Band*, &c. they were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction; besides answering in some considerable degree our views of influencing the public on particular occasions; of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened.

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the general assembly. The choice was made that year without opposition, but the year following when I was again proposed, (the choice like that of the members being annual) a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favor some other candidate. I was however chosen, which

was the more agreeable to me, as besides the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper-money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that on the whole were very profitable. I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him in time great influence in the house, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not however aim at gaining his favor by paying any servile respect to him, but after some time took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favor. When we next met in the house, he spoke to me, (which he had never done before) and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "*He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged.*" And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings.

In 1737, colonel Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then postmaster-general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering, and want of exactness in framing his accounts, took from him the commission and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's

newspaper declined proportionably, and I was satisfied without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders. Thus he suffered greatly from his neglect in due accounting; and I mention it as a lesson to those young men who may be employed in managing affairs for others, that they should always render accounts, and make remittances with great clearness and punctuality. The character of observing such a conduct, is the most powerful of recommendations to new employments and increase of business.

I began now to turn my thoughts to public affairs, beginning however with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable summoned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend paid him six-shillings a year to be excused, which was supposed to go to hiring substitutes, but was in reality much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableness a place of profit; and the constable for a little drink often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not chuse to mix with. Walking the rounds too was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling: I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of this six-shilling tax of the constables, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it, since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant who had thousands of pounds worth of goods in his stores. On the whole, I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in the business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea being approved by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs; but as originating in each of them; and though the plan was not imme-

diately carried into execution, yet by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in the Junto, but it was afterwards published) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was spoken of as an useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leathern buckets, with strong bags and baskets, (for packing and transporting of goods) which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed about once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions. The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and thus went on one new company after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now at the time of my writing this, (though upwards of fifty years since its establishment,) that which I first formed, called the UNION FIRE COMPANY, still subsists; though the first members are all deceased but one, who is older by a year than I am. The fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings, have been applied to the purchase of fire engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other useful implements for each company; so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and in fact, since these institutions the city has

never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed.

In 1739, arrived among us from Ireland, the reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitude of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, (who was one of the number) to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them, they were naturally *half beasts and half devils*. It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street. And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in, was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon received to procure the ground, and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad; and the work was carried with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of *any preacher of any religious persuasion*, who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia. The design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople, were to send a missionary to preach Mahomedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, on leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that pro-

vince had lately been begun, but instead of being made with hardy industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers, and other insolvent debtors; many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield, with the idea of building an orphan-house there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity, and made large collections: for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance. I did not disapprove of the design, but as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia, and brought the children to it. This I advised, but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which, I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me: I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold; as he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all! At this sermon there was also one of our club, who being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home; towards the conclusion of the discourse however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbor who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose.

The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "*At any other time, friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to me to be out of thy right senses.*"

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose, that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his sermons, journals, &c.) never had the least suspicion of his integrity; but am to this day decidedly of opinion, that he was in all his conduct a perfectly *honest man*; and methinks my testimony in his favor ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connexion. He used indeed sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death. The following instance will show the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston, he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, you know my house; if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations you will be most heartily welcome. He replied, that if I made that kind offer for *Christ's* sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, "don't let me be mistaken; it was not for *Christ's* sake, but for *your* sake." One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarked, that knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burthen of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth.

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield, was in London, when he consulted me about his orphan-house concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly that he might be heard and understood at a great

distance; especially as his auditories observed the most perfect silence. He preached one evening from the top of the Court-House steps, which are in the middle of Market street, and on the west side of Second street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were filled with his hearers to a considerable distance: being among the hindmost in Market street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river, and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front street, when some noise in that street obscured it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it was filled with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet; I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to 25,000 people in the fields, and to the history of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.

By hearing him often I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those which he had often preached in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by frequent repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well-turned and well-placed, that without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music. This is an advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter cannot well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals. His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies; unguarded expressions, and even erroneous opinions delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explained or qualified, by supposing others that might have accompanied them; or they might have been denied; but *litera scripta manet*: critics attacked his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason, as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their increase. So that I am satisfied that if he had never written any thing,

he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect; and his reputation might in that case have been still growing even after his death; as there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure, and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to attribute to him as great a variety of excellencies, as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.

My business was now constantly augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighboring provinces. I experienced too the truth of the observation, "*that after getting the first hundred pounds it is more easy to get the second:*" money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen who had behaved well, by establishing them with printing houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, (six years,) to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves; by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels, but I was happy in this that mine were all carried on and ended amicably; owing I think a good deal to the precaution of having very explicitly settled in our articles, every thing to be done by or expected from each partner; so that there was nothing to dispute; which precaution I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for whatever esteem partners may have for, and confidence in each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and disgusts may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burthen, business, &c. which are attended often with breach of friendship and of the connection; perhaps with law-suits and other disagreeable consequences.

I had on the whole abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania; there were however some

things that I regretted, there being no provision for defence, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college: I therefore in 1743 drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Rev. Richard Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him: but he having more profitable views in the service of the proprietors, which succeeded, declined the undertaking: and not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie awhile dormant. I succeeded better the next year 1744, in proposing and establishing a *Philosophical Society*. The paper I wrote for that purpose, will be found among my writings; if not lost with many others.

With respect to defence, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length joined by France, which brought us into great danger; and the labored and long continued endeavor of our governor, Thomàs, to prevail with our Quaker assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive; I proposed to try what might be done by a voluntary subscription of the people: to promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, intitled **PLAIN TRUTH**, in which I stated our helpless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defence, and promised to propose in a few days, an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was called upon for the instrument of association; having settled the draught of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building beforementioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispersed all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made. When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred signatures; and other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscri-

bers amounted at length to upwards of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies, and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colours, which they presented to the companies painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied. The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and a man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnished with cannon: it filled expeditiously; and the battery was soon erected, the merlons being framed of logs and filled with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but these not being sufficient, we wrote to London for more; soliciting at the same time our proprietaries for some assistance, though without much expectation of obtaining it. Meanwhile, colonel Lawrence, — Allen, Abraham Taylor, esquires, and myself, were sent to New York by the associators, commissioned to borrow some cannon of governor Clinton. He at first refused us peremptorily; but at a dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, 18 pounders, with their carriages, which were soon transported and mounted on our batteries, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted: and among the rest, I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure, where their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of

religion, I proposed to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of heaven on our undertaking. They embraced the motion, but as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no precedent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage: I drew it in the accustomed style, it was translated into German, printed in both languages and circulated through the province. This gave the clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join in the association, and it would probably have been general among all but the Quakers, if the peace had not soon intervened.

It was thought by some of my friends, that by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young man who had likewise some friends in the assembly and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he through good will advised me to resign, as more consistent with my honor than being turned out. My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man, who made it a rule, *never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offered to him*. I approve, said I, of this rule, and shall practise it with a small addition; I shall never *ask*, never *refuse*, nor ever RESIGN an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of it to another, they shall take it from me. I will not by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisal on my adversaries. I heard however no more of this: I was chosen again unanimously as clerk at the next election. Possibly as they disliked my late intimacy with the members of council who had joined the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the house had long been harassed, they might have been pleased if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the association, and they could not well give another rea-

son. Indeed I had some cause to believe that the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not required to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, though against offensive war, were clearly for the defensive. Many pamphlets *pro* and *con* were published on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favor of defence; which I believe convinced most of their young people. A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been proposed that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules no money could be disposed of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of which twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but though we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appeared to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow that it had ever been proposed, as he said *friends* were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the company. We told him that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if *friends* were against the measure, and out-voted us, we must and should, agreeable to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arrived, it was moved to put this to the vote: he allowed we might do it by the rules, but as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing. While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me, two gentlemen below desired to speak with me; I went down, and found there two of our Quaker members. They told me there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determined to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hoped would not be the case, and desired we would not call for their assistance, if we could do without it; as their voting

for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends; being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allowed to be extremely fair. Not one of his opposing friends appeared, at which he expressed great surprise; and at the expiration of the hour, we carried the resolution eight to one: and as of the 22 Quakers, 8 were ready to vote with us, and 13 by their absence manifested that they were not inclined to oppose the measure, I afterwards estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defence as 1 to 21 only. For these were all regular members of the society, and in good reputation among them, and who had notice of what was proposed at that meeting.

The honorable and learned Mr. Logan, who had always been of that sect, wrote an address to them declaring his approbation of *defensive* war, and supported his opinion by many strong arguments: he put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defence. He came over from England when a young man, with that proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war time, and their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defence; but told William Penn, and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin; which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved a friend, so there was no fighting: but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuked him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of Friends; especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reprimand, being before all the company, piqued the secretary, who answered: "*I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down; but thee*

was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship, when thee thought there was danger."

My being many years in the assembly, a majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends the (body of the Quakers) on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; using a variety of evasion to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance, when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was, to grant money under the phrase of its being "*for the king's use*," and never to inquire how it was applied. But if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. Thus, when powder was wanting (I think it was for the garrison at Louisburg) and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urged on the house by governor Thomas; they would not grant money to buy *powder*, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds to be put in the hands of the governor, and appropriated it for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat or *other grain*. Some of the council, desirous of giving the house still further embarrassment, advised the governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded: but he replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning, *other grain* is gunpowder;" which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it. It was in allusion to this fact, that when in our fire company we feared the success of our proposal in favor of the lottery, and I had said to a friend of mine, one of our members, "if we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that: and then if you nominate me and I you as a committee

for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire engine*." I see, says he, you have improved by being so long in the assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or *other grain*.

Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles, that no kind of war was lawful, and which being once published, they could not afterwards, (however they might change their minds,) easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us—that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Weffare, soon after it appeared. He complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to for this reason; "When we were first drawn together as a society (said he,) it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors; and that others which we have esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing: now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement; and our successors still more so, as conceiving what their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred, never to be departed from." This modesty in a sect, is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong: like a man travelling in

foggy weather; those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapt up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side; but near him all appear clear; though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who having an iron furnance, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, "*An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fire Places; wherein their construction and manner of operation is particularly explained, their advantages above every method of warming rooms demonstrated; and all objections that have been raised against the use of them, answered and obviated, &c.*"^a This pamphlet had a good effect; governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it, from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions; viz. *That as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation; got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of pa-

^a See Papers on Philosophical Subjects, Vol. III. of this edition, p. 403.

tents taken out of my inventions by others, though not always with the same success; which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fire places in very many houses, both here in Pennsylvania, and the neighboring States, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

Peace being concluded, and the association business therefore at an end, I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part: the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled, "*Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.*" This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis: and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it I judged the subscription might be larger; and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds.

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication not as an act of mine, but of some *public-spirited gentlemen*; avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself, to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened; I think in the same year 1749.

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intent to build, when accident threw into our way a large house ready built, which with a few alterations might well serve our purpose: this was the building be-

forementioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.

It is to be noted, that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground were to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention; it was for this reason that one of each sect was appointed; viz. one Church of England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, &c., who in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect; the difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice. Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to: at length one mentioned me, with the observation, that I was merely an honest man, and of *no sect* at all, which prevailed with them to choose me. The enthusiasm which existed when the house was built, had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasioned, which embarrassed them greatly. Being now a member of both boards of trustees, that for the building, and that for the academy, I had a good opportunity of negotiating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building were to cede it to those of the academy; the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep for ever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn; and on paying the debts, the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises; and by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some additional ground, the whole was soon

made fit for our purpose, and the scholars removed into the building. The whole care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me, and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business; having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had worked for me four years; he took off my hands all care of the printing office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The trustees of the academy after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increased by contributions in Britain, and grants of land from the proprietaries, to which the assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present university of Philadelphia. I have been continued one of its trustees from the beginning, (now near forty years,) and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth who have received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.

When I was disengaged myself, as abovementioned, from private business, I flattered myself that by the sufficient, though moderate fortune I had acquired, I had found leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spence's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture in Philadelphia, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes; every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the corporation of the city chose me one of the common council, and soon after alderman; and the citizens at large elected me a Burgess to represent them in assembly; this latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I grew at length tired with

sitting there to hear the debates, in which as clerk I could take no part; and which were often so uninteresting, that I was induced to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles,[†] or any thing to avoid weariness; and I conceived my becoming a member, would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not however insinuate that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions: it certainly was; for considering my low beginning, they were great things to me: and they were still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowlege of the common law than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it; excusing myself by my being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying either directly or indirectly any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the house, my son was appointed heir clerk.¹

The year following, a treaty being to be held with the Indians at Carlisle, the governor sent a message to the house, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be joined with some members of council, as commissioners for that purpose. The house named the speaker, (Mr. Norris) and myself; and being commissioned we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly. As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and when so are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them: and when they complained of this restriction we told them, that if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when the business was over. They promised this, and they kept their promise,

[†] See several of these, in "*Papers on Subjects of Philosophy, &c.*"

because they could get no rum; and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square just without the town. In the evening hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked to see what was the matter; we found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square: they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-colored bodies, half-naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice. The next day, sensible they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum, by saying, "*The Great Spirit who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to*:" now, when he made rum, he said, '**LET THIS BE FOR THE INDIANS TO GET DRUNK WITH;**' and it must be so." And indeed if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages, in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not impossible that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea coast.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing an hospital in Philadelphia, (a very beneficent design, which has been ascribed to me, but was originally and truly his) for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavoring to procure subscriptions for it; but the proposal being a novelty in

America, and at first not well understood, he met but with little success. At length he came to me with the compliment, that he found there was no such a thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concerned in it. "For," said he "I am often asked by those to whom I propose subscribing, *Have you consulted Franklin on this business? And what does he think of it?* And when I tell them that I have not, (supposing it rather out of your line) they do not subscribe, but say, *they will consider it.*" I inquired into the nature and probable utility of the scheme, and receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscribed to it myself, but engaged heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others: previous however to the solicitation, I endeavored to prepare the minds of the people, by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which Dr. Bond had omitted. The subscriptions afterwards were more free and generous; but beginning to flag, I saw they would be insufficient without some assistance from the assembly, and therefore proposed to petition for it; which was done. The country members did not at first relish the project: they objected that it could only be serviceable to the city, and therefore the citizens alone should be at the expense of it; and they doubted whether the citizens themselves generally approved of it. My allegation on the contrary, that it met with such approbation as to leave no doubt of our being able to raise two thousand pounds by voluntary donations, they considered as a most extravagant supposition and utterly impossible. On this I formed my plan; and asking leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the contributors according to the prayer of their petition, and granting them a blank sum of money; which leave was obtained chiefly on the consideration, that the house could throw the bill out if they did not like it, I drew it so as to make the important clause a conditional one; viz. "And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when the said contributors shall have met and chosen their mana-

gers and treasurer, and shall have raised by their contributions a capital stock of two thousand pounds value, (the yearly interest of which is to be applied to the accommodation of the sick poor in the said hospital, and of charge for diet, attendance, advice, and medicines,) and *shall make the same appear to the satisfaction of the speaker of the Assembly for the time being*; that then it shall and may be lawful for the said speaker, and he is hereby required to sign an order on the provincial treasurer, for the payment of two thousand pounds in two yearly payments, to the treasurer of the said hospital, to be applied to the founding, building, and finishing of the same." This condition carried the bill through; for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage: and then in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled: thus the clause worked both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected, the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which at the time gave me more pleasure; or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning.

It was about this time, that another projector, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, came to me with a request, that I would assist him in procuring a subscription for erecting a new meeting house. It was to be for the use of a congregation he had gathered among the Presbyterians, who were originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield. Unwilling to make myself disagreeable to my fellow citizens, by too frequently soliciting their contributions, I absolutely refused. He then desired I would furnish him with a list of the names of persons I knew by experience to be generous and public spirited. I thought it

would be unbecoming in me, after their kind compliance with my solicitation, to mark them out to be worried by other beggars, and therefore refused to give such a list. He then desired I would at least give him my advice. That I will do said I; and, in the first place, I advise you to apply to all those who you know will give something; next, to those who you are uncertain whether they will give any thing or not; and shew them the list of those who have given: and lastly, do not neglect those who you are sure will give nothing; for in some of them you may be mistaken. He laughed and thanked me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he asked of *every body*, and he obtained a much larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch street.

Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had lived near what was called the Jersey market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud, while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that being once in the market they had firm footing; but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the streets paved with stone between the market and the brick footpavement that was on the side next the houses. This for some time gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but the rest of the street not being paved, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon covered with mire, which was not removed, the city as yet having no scavengers. After some inquiry I found a poor industrious man who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean, by sweeping it twice a-week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbors' doors, for the

sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper, setting forth the advantages to the neighborhood that might be obtained from this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the benefit to the shops by more custom, as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having in windy weather the dust blown in upon their goods, &c. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this raised a general desire to have all the streets paved; and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose. After some time I drew a bill for paving the city,^a and brought it into the assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass till I was gone, and then with an alteration in the mode of assessment, which I thought not for the better; but with an additional provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late Mr. John Clifton, giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impressed with the idea of lighting all the city. The honor of this public benefit has also been ascribed to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I did but follow his example, and have only some merit to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps we were at first supplied with from London. They were found inconvenient in these respects: they admitted no air below; the smoke therefore did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodged on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving besides the daily trouble of wiping them clean: and an accidental stroke on one of them would

^a See Votes of the Pennsylvania assembly

demolish it, and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke, and crevices admitting air below to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continued bright till morning; and an accidental stroke would generally break but a single pane easily repaired. I have sometimes wondered that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe-lamps used at Vauxhall, have in keeping them clean, learn to have such holes in their street lamps. But these holes being made for another purpose, viz. to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down through them, the other use of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of: and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.

The mention of these improvements puts me in mind of one I proposed, when in London, to Dr. Fothergill,[†] who was among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects. I had observed that the streets, when dry, were never swept, and the light dust carried away; but it was suffered to accumulate till wet weather reduced it to mud; and then, after lying some days so deep on the pavement that there was no crossing but in paths kept clean by poor people with brooms, it was with great labor raked together and thrown up into carts open above, the sides of which suffered some of the slush at every jolt on the pavement to shake out and fall; sometimes to the annoyance of foot passengers. The reason given for not sweeping the dusty streets was, that the dust would fly into the windows of shops and houses. An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time; I found at my door in Craven street, one morning, a poor woman sweeping

[†] Fothergill, (John) F. R. S., an eminent physician born in 1712, at Carr end, in Yorkshire, of Quaker parents, died in 1780.

my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I asked who employed her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody; but I am poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkses doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at noon she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working, I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust placed in the gutter which was in the middle; and the next rain washed it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean. I then judged that if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong active man might have done it in half the time. And here let me remark the convenience of having but one gutter in such a narrow street running down its middle, instead of two, one on each side near the footway. For where all the rain that falls on a street runs from the sides and meets in the middle, it forms there a current strong enough to wash away all the mud it meets with: but when divided into two channels, it is often too weak to cleanse either, and only makes the mud it finds more fluid, so that the wheels of carriages, and feet of horses throw and dash it upon the foot pavement, (which is thereby rendered foul and slippery,) and sometimes splash it upon those who are walking. My proposal communicated to the doctor, was as follows:

"For the more effectually cleaning and keeping clean the streets of London and Westminster, it is proposed, that the several watchmen be contracted with to have the dust swept up in dry seasons, and the mud raked up at other times, each in the several streets and lanes of his round: that they be furnished with brooms and other proper instruments for these purposes, to be kept at their respective stands, ready to furnish the poor people they may employ in the service.

“That in the dry summer months the dust be all swept up into heaps at proper distances, before the shops and windows of houses are usually opened; when scavengers with close covered carts shall also carry it all away.

“That the mud, when raked up, be not left in heaps to be spread abroad again by the wheels of carriages and trampling of horses; but that the scavengers be provided with bodies of carts, not placed high upon wheels, but low upon sliders, with lattice bottoms, which being covered with straw, will retain the mud thrown into them, and permit the water to drain from it; whereby it will become much lighter, water making the greatest part of the weight. These bodies of carts to be placed at convenient distances, and the mud brought to them in wheelbarrows; they remaining where placed till the mud is drained, and then horses brought to draw them away.”

I have since had doubts of the practicability of the latter part of this proposal, in all places, on account of the narrowness of some streets, and the difficulty of placing the draining sleds, so as not to encumber too much the passage: but I am still of opinion that the former, requiring the dust to be swept up and carried away before the shops are open, is very practicable in the summer, when the days are long: for in walking through the Strand and Fleet street, one morning at seven o'clock, I observed there was not one shop open, though it was daylight and the sun up above three hours: the inhabitants of London, chusing voluntarily to live much by candle-light, and sleep by sun-shine; and yet often complain, (a little absurdly) of the duty on candles, and the high price of tallow.

Some may think these trifling matters, not worth minding or relating: but when they consider that though dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop in a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances in a populous city, and its frequent repetition, gives it weight and consequence; perhaps they will not censure very severely those who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produced

not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life than in giving him a thousand guineas. This sum may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it: but in the other case he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors: he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints which some time or other may be useful to a city I love, (having lived many years in it very happily) and perhaps to some of our towns in America.

Having been some time employed by the post-master-general of America as his comptroller in regulating the several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was upon his death, in 1753, appointed jointly with Mr. William Hu—— to succeed him; by a commission from the post-master-general in England. The American office had hitherto never paid any thing to that of Britain: we were to have 600*l.* a-year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this a variety of improvements were necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive; so that in the first four years the office became above 900*l.* in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers, (of which I shall speak hereafter), we had brought it to yield *three times* as much clear revenue to the crown as the post office of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have received from it —not one farthing!

The business of the post office occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the college of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale college in Connecticut had before made me a similar compliment. Thus without studying in any col-

lege I came to partake of their honors. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of Natural Philosophy.

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by an order of the lords of trade, to be assembled at Albany; there to confer with the chiefs of the Six nations, concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton having received this order, acquainted the house with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself, to join Mr. John Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters, as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The house approved the nomination, and provided the goods for the presents, though they did not much like treating out of the province; and we met the other commissioners at Albany, about the middle of June. In our way thither I projected and drew up, a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defence, and other important general purposes. As we passed through New York, I had there shewn my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the congress. It then appeared, that several of the commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether an union should be established, which passed in the affirmative, unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happened to be preferred, and with a few amendments was accordingly reported. By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president general, appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in congress went on daily hand in hand with

the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the board of trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it; and in England it was judged to have too much of the *democratic*; the board of trade did not approve of it; nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty: but another scheme was formed, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, &c. and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of parliament laying a tax on America. My plan with my reasons in support of it, is to be found among my political papers that were printed.^w Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with governor Shirley upon both the plans. Part of what passed between us on this occasion may also be seen among those papers. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan, makes me suspect, that it was really the true medium, and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves: there would then have been no need of troops from England, of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America; and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided: but such mistakes are not new: history is full of the errors of states and princes.

“Look round the habitable world, how few

“Know their own good, or knowing it pursue!”

Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public mea-

^w See Vol. IV. page 1, of this edition.

asures are therefore seldom *adopted from previous wisdom, but forced by the occasion.*

The governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the assembly, expressed his approbation of the plan “as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy their closest and most serious attention.” The house, however, by the management of a certain member, took it up when I happened to be absent, (which I thought not very fair,) and reprobated it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.

In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arrived there from England, with whom I had been before intimately acquainted. He brought a commission to supersede Mr. Hamilton, who, tired with the disputes his proprietary instructions subjected him to, had resigned. Mr. Morris asked me if I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, “No, you may on the contrary have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the assembly:” “my dear friend,” said he pleasantly, “how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing, it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to shew the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them.” He had some reason for loving to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophister, and therefore generally successful in argumentative conversation. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise, for in the course of my observation, those disputing, contradicting, and confuting people, are generally unfortunate in their affairs. They get victory sometimes, but they never get good will, which would be of more use to them. We parted, he going to Philadelphia, and I to Boston. In returning I met at New York with the votes of the assembly of Pennsylvania, by which it appeared, that notwithstand-

ing his promise to me, he and the house were already in high contention; and it was a continual battle between them, as long as he retained the government. I had my share of it, for as soon as I got back to my seat in the assembly, I was put on every committee for answering his speeches and messages, and by the committees always desired to make the draughts. Our answers as well as his messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive: and as he knew I wrote for the assembly, one might have imagined that when we met we could hardly avoid cutting throats. But he was so good-natured a man, that no personal difference between him and me, was occasioned by the contest, and we often dined together. One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street; "Franklin," said he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening, I am to have some company that you will like;" and taking me by the arm led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us jokingly that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks; as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next me, said, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with those damned Quakers? had you not better sell them? the proprietor would give you a good price." "The governor," said I, "has not yet *blackened* them enough."—He indeed had labored hard to blacken the assembly in all his messages, but they wiped off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and placed it in return thick upon his own face; so that finding he was likely to be *negrofied* himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tired of the contest, and quitted the government.

These public quarrels were all at bottom owing to the proprietaries, our hereditary governors; who when any expense was to be incurred for the defence of their province, with incredible meanness, instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary taxes, unless their vast estates were

in the same act expressly exonerated; and they had even taken the bonds of these deputies to observe such instructions. The assemblies for three years held out against this injustice, though constrained to bend at last. At length captain Denny, who was governor Morris's successor, ventured to disobey those instructions; how that was brought about I shall shew hereafter.

But I am got forward too fast with my story: there are still some transactions to be mentioned, that happened during the administration of governor Morris.

War being in a manner commenced with France, the government of Massachusetts Bay projected an attack upon Crown Point, and sent Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pownal, (afterwards governor Pownal,) to New York to solicit assistance. As I was in the assembly, knew its temper, and was Mr. Quincy's countryman, he applied to me for my influence and assistance: I dictated his address to them, which was well received. They voted an aid of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions. But the governor refusing his assent to their bill (which included this with other sums granted for the use of the crown) unless a clause were inserted, exempting the proprietary estate from bearing any part of the tax that would be necessary; the assembly though very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstinate. I then suggested a method of doing the business without the governor, by orders on the trustees of the loan office, which by law the assembly had the right of drawing. There was indeed little or no money at the time in the office, and therefore I proposed that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent.: with these orders I supposed the provisions might easily be purchased. The assembly with very little hesitation adopted the proposal; the orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. The fund for paying them, was the interest of all the paper

currency then extant in the province upon loan, together with the revenue arising from the excise, which being known to be more than sufficient, they obtained credit, and were not only taken in payment for the provisions, but many monied peopled who had cash lying by them, vested it in those orders, which they found advantageous, as they bore interest while upon hand, and might on any occasion be used as money. So that they were eagerly all bought up, and in a few weeks none of them were to be seen. Thus this important affair was by my means completed. Mr. Quincy returned thanks to the assembly in a handsome memorial, went home highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.

The British government, not chusing to permit the union of the colonies, as proposed at Albany, and to trust that union with their defence, lest they should thereby grow too military, and feel their own strength; (suspicion and jealousies at this time being entertained of them;) sent over general Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria in Virginia, and thence marched to Frederick-town in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our assembly apprehending from some information, that he had received violent prejudices against them as averse to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as post-master-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty, the dispatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence; and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey. We found the general at Frederick-town, waiting impatiently for the return of those whom he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I staid with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices, by the information of what the assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still willing to do, to faci-

litate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared, that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, &c. not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary. I happened to say, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to; and a commission and instructions accordingly prepared immediately. What those terms were will appear in the advertisement I published soon as I arrived at Lancaster; which being, from the great and sudden effect it produced, a piece of some curiosity, I shall insert it at length, as follows:

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Lancaster, April 26th, 1753.

"Whereas, one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack-horses are wanted for the service of his majesty's forces, now about to rendezvous at Wills's creek; and his excellency general Braddock having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same; I hereby give notice, that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening; and at York from next Thursday morning, till Friday evening; where I shall be ready to agree for wagons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms: viz. 1. That there shall be paid for each wagon with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings per diem.

And for each able horse with a pack-saddle, or other saddle and furniture, two shillings per diem. And for each able horse without a saddle, eighteen pence per diem. 2. That the pay commence from the time of their joining the forces at Wills's creek (which must be on or before the 20th of May ensuing), and that a reasonable allowance be paid over and above for the time necessary for their travelling to Wills's creek and home again after their discharge. 3. Each wagon and team, and every saddle or pack-horse, is to be valued by indifferent persons chosen between me and the owner; and in case of the loss of any wagon, team, or other horse in the service, the price according to such valuation is to be allowed and paid. 4. Seven days' pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the owner of each wagon and team, or horse, at the time of contracting, if required; and the remainder to be paid by general Braddock, or by the paymaster of the army, at the time of their discharge; or from time to time as it shall be demanded. 5. No drivers of wagons, or persons taking care of the hired horses, are on any account to be called upon to do the duty of soldiers, or be otherwise employed than in conducting or taking care of their carriages or horses. 6. All oats, Indian corn, or other forage, that wagons or horses bring to the camp, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the horses, is to be taken for the use of the army, and a reasonable price paid for the same."

"Note.—My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts, with any person in Cumberland county. B. FRANKLIN."

"To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland.

"FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

"BEING occasionally at the camp at Frederick, a few days since, I found the general and officers extremely exasperated on account of their not being supplied with horses and carriages, which had been expected from this province,

as most able to furnish them; but through the dissensions between our governor and assembly, money had not been provided, nor any steps taken for that purpose.

“It was proposed to send an armed force immediately into these counties, to seize as many of the best carriages and horses as should be wanted, and compel as many persons into the service, as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

“I apprehended that the progress of British soldiers through these counties on such an occasion, (especially considering the temper they are in, and their resentment against us,) would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back counties have lately complained to the assembly that a sufficient currency was wanting; you have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for if the service of this expedition should continue (as it is more than probable it will) for 120 days, the hire of these wagons and horses will amount to upwards of thirty thousand pounds; which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king’s money.

“The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they carry those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are for the army’s sake, always placed where they can be most secure, whether in a march or in a camp.

“If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as cannot separately spare from the business of their plantations, a wagon and four horses and a driver, may do it together; one furnishing the wagon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionably between you: but if you do not this service to

your king and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected: the king's business must be done: so many brave troops, come so far for your defence, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you: wagons and horses must be had, violent measures will probably be used; and you will be to seek for recompence where you can find it, and your case perhaps be little pitied or regarded.

"I have no particular interest in this affair, as (except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do good) I shall have only my labor for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose, sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers will immediately enter the province for the purpose; which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly

"Your friend and well-wisher,

"B. FRANKLIN."

I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance money to the wagon owners, &c. but that sum being insufficient, I advanced upwards of two hundred pounds more; and in two weeks, the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses were on their march for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any wagons or horses should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know general Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance; which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp, supping one evening with the officers of colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford in this dear country, to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march through a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchased.

I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavor procuring them some relief. I said nothing however to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the committee of assembly, who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I inclosed in my letter. The committee approved, and used such diligence, that, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing—

6 lb. Loaf Sugar	1 Gloucester Cheese
6 do. Muscovado do.	1 keg containing 20lb. good Butter
1 do. Green Tea	2 doz. old Madeira Wine
1 do. Bohea do.	2 gallons Jamaica Spirits
6 do. Ground Coffee	1 bottle Flour of Mustard
6 do. Chocolate	2 well-cured Hams
$\frac{1}{2}$ chest best white Biscuit	$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen dried Tongues
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Pepper	6 lb. Rice
1 quart white Vinegar	6 lb. Raisins.

These parcels, well packed, were placed on as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being intended as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully received, and the kindness acknowledged by letters to me from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The general too was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, &c. &c., and readily paid my account of disbursements; thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my further assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat; advancing for the service, of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling; of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he returned me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this

payment as good luck; having never been able to obtain that remainder; of which more hereafter.

This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war; but he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean an one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, &c., if he had treated them kindly: but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him. In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking fort Duquesne," said he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes; and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "to be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with the fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who by constant practice, are dextrous in laying and executing them: and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which from their distance cannot come up in time to support each other." He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the king's regular and disci-

plined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then when more in a body, (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over) and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes; which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank: the officers being on horseback, were more easily distinguished, picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were killed; and then being seized with a panic the remainder fled with precipitation. The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The general being wounded was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side, and out of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or wounded; and seven hundred and fourteen men killed of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked-men from the whole army; the rest 'ad been left behind with colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers not being pursued arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people. And though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock, did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French to-

gether, instead of proceeding and endeavoring to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, &c., to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met with requests from the governor of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded.

In their first march too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who during a march through the most inhabited part of our country, from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint, for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple!

Captain Orme, who was one of the general's aids-de-camp and being grievously wounded was brought off with him, and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "*Who would have thought it?*" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "*We shall better know how to deal with them another time;*" and died in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, with all the general's orders, instructions, and correspondence falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among

these I saw some letters of the general to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. David Hume, who was some years after secretary to lord Hertford, when minister in France, and afterwards to general Conway, when secretary of state, told me he had seen among the papers in that office, letters from Braddock, highly recommending me. But the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me. As to rewards from himself, I asked only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers, not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolved on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I applied to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers of Lancaster county, that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head. He promised me that if the masters would come to him at Trenton, where he should be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble: I acquainted them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but the order for paying it must first be obtained from general Shirley, and that I had applied for it; but he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must have patience. All this however was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me: general Shirley, at length relieved me from this terrible situation, by appointing commissioners to examine the

claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, which to pay would have ruined me.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand fire-work, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receiving the news of our taking fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said, "It would, I thought, be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice." They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d——l," said one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken; but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting: the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone if the fire-work had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterwards, said that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

Governor Morris, who had continually worried the assembly with message after message before the defeat of Braddock, to beat them into the making of acts to raise money for the defence of the province, without taxing among others the proprietary estates, and had rejected all their bills for not having such an exempting clause, now redoubled his attacks with more hope of success, the danger and necessity being greater. The assembly however continued firm, believing they had justice on their side; and that it would be giving up an essential right, if they suffered the governor to amend their money bills. In one of the last, indeed, which was for granting fifty thousand pounds, his proposed amendment was only of a single word: the bill expressed, "that all estates real and personal were to be taxed; those of the proprietaries *not* excepted." His amendment was; for *not* read *only*. A small, but very material alteration! However, when the news of the disaster reached England, our friends there, whom we had taken care to furnish with all the assembly's

answers to the governor's messages, raised a clamor against the proprietaries for their meanness and injustice in giving their governor such instructions; some going so far as to say, that by obstructing the defence of their province, they forfeited their right to it. They were intimidated by this, sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the assembly for such purpose. This being testified to the house, was accepted in lieu of their share of a general tax, and a new bill was formed with an exempting clause, which passed accordingly. By this act I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money; sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modelling the bill, and procuring its passage; and had at the same time drawn one for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia; which I carried through the house without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the quakers at liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a dialogue^x stating and answering all the objections I could think of to such a militia; which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect. While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the governor prevailed with me to take charge of our north-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops, and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aid-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhutzen, a

^x This dialogue and the militia act, were published in the Gentleman's Magazine for February and March, 1756.

village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts. In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people; I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence: the destruction of Gnadenhutten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren too kept watch, and relieved each other on guard as methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned my surprise; for knowing they had obtained an act of parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me, "That it was not one of their established principles; but that at the time of their obtaining that act it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they to their surprise, found it adopted by but a few." It seems they were either deceived in themselves, or deceived the parliament: but common sense aided by present danger will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts; I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part with similar instructions: and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhutten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, &c. Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of fire-arms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammu-

dition. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are dextrous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers abovementioned, and killed ten of them; the one that escaped informed us, that his, and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain. The next day being fair we continued our march, and arrived at the desolate Gnadenhutten; there was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon huttet ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people; the next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work, to cut down trees; and our men being dextrous in the use of them, great dispatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine: in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter: each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and the bodies being taken off our wagons, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages with two horses each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards

all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop-holes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort (if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade) was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not well work.

This gave me occasion to observe, that when men are employed they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful: and with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days, they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with the pork, the bread, &c., and were continually in bad humor; which put me in mind of a sea captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and when his mate once told him that they had done every thing, and there was nothing farther to employ them about; "O," said he, "*make them scour the anchor.*"

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians who had no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places, that seems worth mentioning. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them: but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance: they had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we found where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm; which with them

is an essential point. This kind of fire so managed could not discover them either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke: it appeared that the number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it: upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "it is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were to distribute it out only just after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought, undertook the task, and with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction; and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

I had hardly finished this business, and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the governor, acquainting me that he had called the assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends too of the assembly pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting; and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and parading the garrison, had it read before them; and introduced him to them as an officer, who from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and giving them a little exhor-

tation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night (lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnadenbudden, with only a blanket or two. While at Bethlehem, I inquired a little into the practices of the Moravians; some of them had accompanied me, and all were very kind to me. I found they worked for a common stock, eat at common tables, and slept in common dormitories, great numbers together. In the dormitories I observed loop-holes at certain distances all along just under the ceiling, which I thought judiciously placed for change of air. I went to their church, where I was entertained with good music, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, &c. I understood their sermons were not usually preached to mixed congregations of men, women, and children, as is our common practice; but that they assembled sometimes the married men, at other times their wives, then the young men, the young women, and the little children; each division by itself. The sermon I heard was to the latter, who came in and were placed in rows on benches, the boys under the conduct of a young man their tutor; and the girls conducted by a young woman. The discourse seemed well adapted to their capacities, and was delivered in a pleasing, familiar manner, coaxing them as it were to be good. They behaved very orderly, but looked pale and unhealthy, which made me suspect they were kept too much within doors, or not allowed sufficient exercise. I inquired concerning the Moravian marriages, whether the report was true that they were by lot; I was told that lots were used only in particular cases: that generally when a young man found himself disposed to marry he informed the elders of his class, who consulted the elder ladies that governed the young women. As these elders of the different sexes were well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of their respective pupils, they could best judge what matches were suitable, and their judgments were generally acquiesced in. But if, for example, it should hap-

pen that two or three young women were found to be equally proper for the young man, the lot was then recurred to. I objected, if the matches are not made by the mutual choice of the parties, some of them may chance to be very unhappy. "And so they may," answered my informer, "if you let the parties chuse for themselves." Which indeed I could not deny.

Being returned to Philadelphia, I found the association went on with great success, the inhabitants that were not quakers, having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. Bond visited me and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavors. I had the vanity to ascribe all to my dialogue; however, not knowing but that he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion; which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment; which I this time accepted. I forget how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass field-pieces, which they had become so expert in the use of, as to fire twelve times in a minute. The first time I reviewed my regiment, they accompanied me to my house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honor proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken, by a repeal of the law in England.

During this short time of my colonelship, being about to set out on a journey to Virginia, the officers of my regiment, took it into their heads that it would be proper for them to escort me out of town, as far as the Lower-ferry; just as I was getting on horseback they came to my door, between thirty and forty, mounted, and all in their uniforms. I had not been previously acquainted with their project, or I should have prevented it, being naturally averse to the assuming of

state on any occasion; and I was a good deal chagrined at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse was, that as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor, and it gave him great offence. No such honor had been paid him, when in the province; nor to any of his governors; and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood royal; which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am ignorant of the etiquette in such cases. This silly affair, however, greatly increased his rancor against me, which was before considerable on account of my conduct in the assembly, respecting the exemption of his estate from taxation, which I had always opposed very warmly; and not without severe reflections on the meanness and injustice in contending for it. He accused me to the ministry, as being the great obstacle to the king's service: preventing by my influence in the house, the proper form of the bills for raising money; and he instanced the parade with my officers, as a proof of my having an intention to take the government of the province out of his hands by force. He also applied to sir Everard Faulkener, the post-master-general, to deprive me of my office; but it had no other effect than to procure from sir Everard a gentle admonition.

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle between the governor and the house, in which I as a member had so large a share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought, that his little or no resentment against me for the answers it was known I drew up to his messages, might be the effect of professional habit, and that being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending clients in a suit; he for the proprietaries, and I for the assembly: he would therefore sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points; and sometimes, though not often, take my advice. We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army with provi-

sions, and when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the governor sent in haste for me, to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties. I forget now the advice I gave, but I think it was that Dunbar should be written to and prevailed with, if possible, to post his troops on the frontiers for their protection, until by reinforcements from the colonies, he might be able to proceed in the expedition: and after my return from the frontier, he would have had me undertake the conduct of such an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of fort Duquesne; (Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed;) and he proposed to commission me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he professed to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments: but probably he might think that my popularity would facilitate the business with the men, and influence in the assembly the grant of money to pay for it; and that perhaps without taxing the proprietary. Finding me not so forward to engage as he expected, the project was dropt; and he soon after left the government, being superseded by captain Denny.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new governor's administration, it may not be amiss to give here some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation.

In 1746, being at Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and shewed me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surprised and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company received from Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S. of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston; and by much practice acquired great readiness in performing those also which we had an account

of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full for some time, with persons who came to see these new wonders. To divide a little this incumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown in our glass-house, with which they furnished themselves, so that we had at length several performers. Among these the principal was Mr. Kinnersly an ingenious neighbor, who being out of business, I encouraged to undertake showing the experiments for money, and drew up for him two lectures, in which the experiments were ranged in such order, and accompanied with explanations in such method, as that the foregoing should assist in comprehending the following. He procured an elegant apparatus for the purpose, in which all the little machines that I had roughly made for myself, were neatly formed by instrument makers. His lectures were well attended, and gave great satisfaction; and after some time he went through the colonies exhibiting them in every capital town, and picked up some money. In the West India Islands indeed, it was with difficulty the experiments could be made from the general moisture of the air.

Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson, for the present of the tube &c., I thought it right he should be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments.^y He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their transactions. One paper which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersly, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Mr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society; who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers however being shewn to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to *Cave* for publication, in his *Gentleman's Magazine*; but

^y See Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects. Vol. III. of this edition, page 1.

he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. *Cave* it seems judged rightly for his (profession), for by the additions that arrived afterwards, they swelled to a quarto volume; which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.

It was however some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the count de Buffon, (a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and indeed all over Europe,) he prevailed with monsieur Dubourg to translate them into French; and they were printed at Paris. The publication offended the Abbé Nollet, preceptor in Natural Philosophy to the royal family, and an able experimenter, who had formed and published a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to oppose his system. Afterwards, having been assured that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, (which he had doubted,) he wrote and published a volume of letters, chiefly addressed to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduced from them. I once purposed answering the Abbé, and actually began the answer; but on consideration that my writings contained a description of experiments, which any one might repeat and verify, and if not to be verified could not be defended; or of observations offered as *conjectures*, and not delivered dogmatically, therefore not laying me under any obligation to defend them; and reflecting that a dispute between two persons written in different languages might be lengthened greatly by mis-translations, and thence misconceptions of another's meaning, much of one of the Abbé's letters being founded on an error in the translation; I concluded to let my papers shift for themselves; believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made. I therefore never answered monsieur Nollet; and the event gave me no cause to repent

my silence; for my friend monsieur Le Roy, of the royal academy of sciences, took up my cause and refuted him: my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages; and the doctrine it contained was by degrees generally adopted by the philosophers of Europe, in preference to that of the Abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect; except monsieur B—— of Paris, his *élève* and immediate disciple.

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by messieurs Dalibard and Delor, at Marly; for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged the public attention every where. Monsieur Delor who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch of science, undertook to repeat, what he called the *Philadelphia experiments*; and after they were performed before the king and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity. Dr. Wright an English physician, when at Paris, wrote to a friend who was of the royal society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The society on this resumed the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject; which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their transactions: and some members of the society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainted them with the success; they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honor,

they chose me a member; and voted that I should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their transactions gratis.² They also presented me with the gold medal of sir Godfrey Copley, for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honored.

² Dr. Franklin gives a further account of his election, in the following extract of a letter to his son governor Franklin,

London, Dec. 19, 1767.

“We have had an ugly affair at the Royal society lately. One Dacosta, a Jew, who, as our clerk, was entrusted with collecting our monies, has been so unfaithful as to embezzle near thirteen hundred pounds in four years. Being one of the council this year as well as the last, I have been employed all the last week in attending the inquiry into and unravelling his accounts, in order to come at a full knowledge of his frauds. His securities are bound in one thousand pounds to the society, which they will pay, but we are like to lose the rest. He had this year received twenty-six admission payments of twenty-five guineas each, which he did not bring to account.

While attending this affair, I had an opportunity of looking over the old council books and journals of the society, and having a curiosity to see how I came in, (of which I had never been informed,) I looked back for the minutes relating to it. You must know it is not usual to admit persons that have not requested to be admitted; and a recommendatory certificate in favor of the candidate, signed by at least three of the members, is by our rule to be presented to the society, expressing that he is desirous of that honor, and is so and so qualified. As I had never asked or expected the honor, I was, as I said before, curious to see how the business was managed. I found that the certificate, worded very advantageously for me, was signed by lord Macclesfield, then president, lord Parker, and lord Willoughby, that the election was by an unanimous vote; and the honor being voluntarily conferred by the society unsolicited by me, it was thought wrong to demand or receive the usual fees or composition; so that my name was entered on the list with a vote of council, *that I was not to pay any thing*. And accordingly nothing has ever been demanded of me. Those who are admitted in the common way, pay five guineas admission fees, and two guineas and a half yearly contribution, or twenty-five guineas down, in lieu of it. In my case a substantial favor accompanied the honor.

Our new governor, captain Denny, brought over for me the beforementioned medal from the Royal society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city. He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having as he said been long acquainted with my character. After dinner when the company as was customary at that time, were engaged in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me that he had been advised by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to the making his administration easy. That he therefore desired of all things to have a good understanding with me, and he begged me to be assured of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. He said much to me also of the proprietors' good disposition towards the province, and of the advantage it would be to us all, and to me in particular, if the opposition that had been so long continued to his measures was dropt, and harmony restored between him and the people; in effecting which it was thought no one could be more serviceable than myself; and I might depend on adequate acknowledgments and recompenses, &c. The drinkers finding we did not return immediately to the table, sent us a decanter of Madeira, which the governor made liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises. My answers were to this purpose; that my circumstances, thanks to God, were such as to make proprietary favors unnecessary to me; and that being a member of the assembly I could not possibly accept of any; that however I had no personal enmity to the proprietary, and that whenever the public measures he proposed, should appear to be for the good of the people, no one would espouse and forward them more zealously than myself; my past opposition had been founded on this, that the measures which having been urged were evidently intended to serve the proprietary interest with great prejudice to that of the people. That I was much obliged to him (the governor) for his profession of regard

to me, and that he might rely on every thing in my power to render his administration as easy to him as possible, hoping at the same time that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instructions his predecessors had been hampered with. On this he did not then explain himself, but when he afterwards came to do business with the assembly, they appeared again, the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman, first of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them, which may be found in the Votes of the Times, and in the HISTORICAL REVIEW^a I afterwards published; but between us personally no enmity arose, we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was entertaining and pleasing in conversation. He gave me information that my old friend Ralph, was still alive, that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England; had been employed in the dispute between prince Frederick, and the king, and had obtained a pension of three hundred pounds a-year; that his reputation was indeed small as a poet, *Pope* having damned his poetry in the *Dunciad*; but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

The assembly finally finding the proprietary obstinately persisted in shackling the deputies with instructions, inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolved to petition the king against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition. The house had sent up a bill to the governor, granting a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the king's use, (ten thousand pounds of which was subjected to the orders of the then general, lord Loudon,) which the governor, in compliance with his instructions absolutely refused to pass. I had agreed with captain Morris, of the packet at New York, for my passage, and my stores were put on board; when lord Loudon, arrived at Philadelphia, expressly as he told me, to endeavor an accommodation be-

^a See Vol. II. of this edition.

tween the governor and assembly, that his majesty's service might not be obstructed by their dissensions. Accordingly he desired the governor and myself to meet him, that he might hear what was to be said on both sides. We met and discussed the business: in behalf of the assembly, I urged the various arguments that may be found in the public papers of that time, which were of my writing, and are printed with the minutes of the assembly; and the governor pleaded his instructions, the bond he had given to observe them, and his ruin if he disobeyed; yet seemed not unwilling to hazard himself if lord Loudon would advise it. Thus his lordship did not chuse to do, though I once thought I had nearly prevailed with him to do it; but finally he rather chose to urge the compliance of the assembly; and he intreated me to use my endeavors with them for that purpose, declaring that he would spare none of the king's troops for the defence of our frontiers, and that if we did not continue to provide for that defence ourselves, they must remain exposed to the enemy. I acquainted the house with what had passed, and presenting them with a set of resolutions I had drawn up, declaring our rights, that we did not relinquish our claim to those rights, but only suspended the exercise of them on this occasion, through *force*, against which we protested; they at length agreed to drop that bill, and frame another conformably to the proprietary instructions; this of course the governor passed, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But in the mean time the packet had sailed with my sea stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his lordship's thanks for my service; all the credit of obtaining the accommodation falling to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and as the time for dispatching the packet-boats was in his disposition, and there were two then remaining there, one of which, he said was to sail very soon, I requested to know the precise time, that I might not miss her, by any delay of mine. The answer was, "I have given out that she is to sail on Saturday next, but I may let you know, *entre nous*, that if you are there by

Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer!" By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much afraid she might have sailed, as the wind was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information that she was still in the harbor, and would not move till next day. One would imagine that I was now on the very point of departing for Europe; I thought so, but I was not then so well acquainted with his lordship's character, of which *indecision* was one of the strongest features; I shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April, that I came to New York, and I think it was near the end of June before we sailed. There were then two of the packet-boats which had been long in readiness, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to be ready *to-morrow*. Another packet arrived, she too was detained, and before we sailed a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be dispatched; as having been there longest. Passengers were engaged for all, and some extremely impatient to be gone, and the merchants uneasy about their letters, and for the orders they had given for insurance (it being war time) and for autumnal goods; but their anxiety availed nothing, his lordship's letters were not ready: and yet whoever waited on him found him always at his desk, pen in hand, and concluded he must needs write abundantly. Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his antichamber, one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come thence express, with a packet from governor Denny, for the general. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there, which occasioned my inquiring when he was to return, and where he lodged, that I might send some letters by him. He told me he was ordered to call to-morrow at nine for the general's answer to the governor, and should set off immediately; I put my letters into his hands the same day. A fortnight after I met him again in the same place. "So you are soon returned, Innis!" "Returned; no, I am not gone yet." "How so?" I have called here this and every

morning these two weeks past for his lordship's letters, and they are not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer; for I see him constantly at his *escritoir*." "Yes," said Innis, "but he is like St. George, on the signs, *always on horseback but never rides on*." This observation of the messenger was it seems well founded; for when in England, I understood, that Mr. Pitt, (afterwards lord Chatham,) gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending generals Amherst and Wolf, *that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing*.

This daily expectation of sailing, and all the three packets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on board, lest by a sudden order, the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea stores, and obliged to procure more. At length the fleet sailed, the general and all his army on board bound to Louisburg, with intent to besiege and take that fortress; all the packet-boats in company, ordered to attend the general's ship, ready to receive his dispatches when they should be ready. We were out five days before we got a letter with leave to part; and then our ship quitted the fleet and steered for England. The other two packets he still detained, carried them with him to Halifax; where he staid some time to exercise his men in sham attacks upon sham forts; then altered his mind as to besieging Louisburg, and returned to New York, with all his troops, together with the two packets abovementioned, and all their passengers! During his absence the French and savages had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the Indians had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation. I saw afterwards in London, captain Bound, who commanded one of those packets; he told me that when he had been detained a month, he acquainted his lordship that his ship was grown foul, to a degree that must necessarily hinder her fast sailing, (a point of consequence for a packet-boat,) and requested an allowance of time to heave her down and clean her bottom. His lordship asked how long time that

would require. He answered three days. The general replied, "if you can do it in one day, I give leave; otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." So he never obtained leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months. I saw also in London, one of Bonell's passengers, who was so enraged against his lordship for deceiving and detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore he would sue him for damages. Whether he did or not I never heard; but as he represented it, the injury to his affairs was very considerable. On the whole, I wondered much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army: but having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving places and employments, my wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved upon the death of Braddock, would in my opinion, if continued in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudon, in 1756, which was frivolous, expensive and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception. For though Shirley was not bred a soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudon, instead of defending the colonies with his great army, left them totally exposed, while he paraded idly at Halifax; by which means Fort George was lost; besides, he deranged all our mercantile operations, and distressed our trade by a long embargo on the exportation of provisions, on pretence of keeping supplies from being obtained by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favor of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, (perhaps from suspicion only,) he had a share; and when at length the embargo was taken off, neglecting to send notice of it to Charleston, where the Carolina fleet was detained near three months; and whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm, that a great part of them foundered in their passage home. Shirley was, I believe, sincerely

glad of being relieved from so burthensome a charge, as the conduct of an army must be to a man unacquainted with military business. I was at the entertainment given by the city of New York, to lord Loudon, on his taking upon him the command. Shirley, though thereby superseded, was present also. There was a great company of officers, citizens, and strangers, and some chairs having been borrowed in the neighborhood, there was one among them very low, which fell to the lot of Mr. Shirley. I sat by him, and perceiving it, I said, they have given you a very low seat. "No matter, Mr. Franklin, said he, I find a *low seat* the easiest."

While I was, as beforementioned, detained at New York, I received all the accounts of the provisions, &c., that I had furnished to Braddock, some of which accounts could not sooner be obtained from the different persons I had employed to assist in the business; I presented them to Lord Loudon, desiring to be paid the balance. He caused them to be examined by the proper officer, who after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and his lordship promised to give me an order on the paymaster for the balance due to me. This was however put off from time to time, and though I called often for it by appointment, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had on better consideration concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you, said he, when in England, have only to exhibit your accounts to the treasury, and you will be paid immediately." I mentioned, but without effect, a great and unexpected expense I had been put to by being detained so long at New York, as a reason for my desiring to be presently paid; and on my observing that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanced, as I charged no commission for my service; "O," said he, "you must not think of persuading us that you are no gainer: we understand better those matters, and know that every one concerned in supplying the army, finds means in the doing it to fill his own pockets." I assured him that was not my case, and that I had

not pocketed a farthing: but he appeared clearly not to believe me; and indeed I afterwards learned that immense fortunes are often made in such employments: as to my balance I am not paid it to this day; of which more hereafter.

Our captain of the packet boasted much before we sailed of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately when we came to sea, she proved the dullest of ninety-six sail, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship, almost as dull as ours, which however gained upon us, the captain ordered all hands to come aft and stand as near the ensign staff as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons; while we stood there the ship mended her pace, and soon left her neighbor far behind, which proved clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head. The casks of water it seems had been placed forward; these he therefore ordered to be moved further aft, on which the ship recovered her character, and proved the best sailer in the fleet. The captain said she had once gone at the rate of thirteen knots, which is accounted thirteen miles per hour. We had on board as a passenger, captain Archibald Kennedy,^b of the royal navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that there must have been some error in the division of the log-line, or some mistake in heaving the log. A wager ensued between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind: Kennedy, therefore examined the log-line, and being satisfied with it, he determined to throw the log himself. Some days after when the wind was very fair and fresh, and the captain of the packet (Lutwidge) said, he believed she then went at the rate of thirteen knots; Kennedy made the experiment, and owned his wager lost. The foregoing fact I give for the sake of the following observation: it has been remarked as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known till

^b Since earl of Cassilis; father of the present earl, 1817.

she is tried, whether a new ship will, or will not be a good sailer; for that the model of a good sailing ship has been exactly followed in a new one, which has been proved on the contrary remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasioned by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of loading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his method, and the same vessel laden by the method and orders of one captain, shall sail worse than when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is formed, fitted for the sea, and sailed by the same person; one man builds the hull, another rigs her, a third loads and sails her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing all the ideas and experience of the others, and therefore cannot draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole. Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observed different judgments in the officers who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimmed sharper or flatter than another, so that they seemed to have no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing: next the best dimensions and properest place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position as the winds may be; and lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combined would be of great use.

We were several times chased in our passage, but outsailed every thing; and in thirty days had soundings. We had a good observation, and the captain judged himself so near our port, (Falmouth) that if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbor in the morning; and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's privateers, who often cruised near the entrance of the Channel. Accordingly all the sail was set that we could possibly carry, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we stood right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shaped his course, as he thought, so as

to pass wide of the Scilly rocks; but it seems there is sometimes a strong current setting up St. George's Channel, which formerly caused the loss of sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron (in 1707): this was probably also the cause of what happened to us. We had a watchman placed in the bow, to whom they often called, "*Look well out before there;*" and he as often answered, "*Aye, aye;*" but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep at the time; they sometimes answering, as is said, mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discovered, and occasioned a great alarm, we being very near it; the light appearing to me as large as a cart wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but captain Kennedy, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we avoided shipwreck, for we were running fast on the rocks on which the light was erected. This deliverance impressed me strong with the utility of light-houses, and made me resolve to encourage the building some of them in America, if I should live to return thither.

In the morning it was found by the soundings, &c., that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seemed to be lifted up from the water, like the curtain of a theatre, discovering underneath the town of Falmouth, the vessels in the harbor, and the fields that surround it. This was a pleasing spectacle to those who had been long without any other prospect than the uniform view of a vacant ocean! and it gave us the more pleasure, as we were now free from the anxieties which had arisen.^c

^c In a letter from Dr. Franklin to his wife, dated at Falmouth, the 17th July, 1757, after giving her a similar account of his voyage, escape, and landing; he adds, "The bell ringing for church, we went thither immediately, and with hearts full of gratitude, returned sincere thanks to God

I set out immediately, with my son,^d for London, and we only stopped a little by the way to view Stonehenge, on Salisbury plain; and lord Pembroke's house and gardens, with the very curious antiquities at Wilton.

We arrived in London, the 27th July, 1757.

for the mercies we had received: were I a Roman Catholic, perhaps I should on this occasion vow to build a chapel to some saint; but as I am not, if I were to vow at all, it should be to build a *light-house*."

^d William Franklin, afterwards governor of New Jersey.

END OF PART II.

PART III.

THAT profound observer of men and manners, lord Bacon, hath observed on the advantages of Biographical writing over other branches of historical composition, that “History of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces or deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters. But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weights upon the smallest wires, *maxima è minimis suspendens*; it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business, than the true and inward resorts thereof. But LIVES if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation.” Of the truth of this sagacious remark, a more convincing evidence can hardly be adduced than the memoirs which Dr. Franklin hath left of himself; and the reader has to lament, that when the author resumed his narrative, at the request of some intelligent friends, he did it under the inconvenience of public business, and at a distance from his papers; but the greatest matter of regret is, that he did not bring the history of his own times down through the stormy and eventful period in which he made so conspicuous a figure, near to the close of his illustrious and exemplary career. Great light and much curious and interesting information respecting the same, may however be collected from his “*Private and Political Correspondence*,” forming a sequel to these memoirs.

The necessity of pursuing the narration with chronological precision is obvious and imperative, but the only matter for concern is the indispensable obligation of changing the style of the relation from the dignity of the first person, which diffuses exquisite beauty and gives peculiar energy to the preceding parts of the history. This however will in some instances be avoided, Dr. Franklin having left, (written by himself) several separate relations of events, or circumstances in which he was particularly concerned; these, together with some of his letters, elucidating similar objects, will be inserted (in his own language) in their proper places; which he probably would himself have done, had he lived to complete the narrative of his Life: Where however this resource is wanting, all that remains to be done is to adhere scrupulously to the verity of facts and to the evidence of authorities; with as close an attention to the simplicity of the preceding pages as may be, without falling into the error of servile imitation.

It will be proper here to enter into some detail on the state of Pennsylvania, at the period when the voyage to England took place, of which an account is given at the close of the last part of the author's own Memoir; because as he was obliged to trust solely to his memory, some slight inaccuracies escaped him, that would otherwise have been avoided.

In January, 1757, the house of assembly voted a bill for granting to his majesty the sum of *one hundred thousand pounds* by a tax on all the estates, real and personal, and taxables, within the province; but on submitting it to governor Denny for his sanction, he refused it in a message, which among other remarkable observations, contained the following avowal of his subservience to the Penn family. "The proprietaries are willing their estates should be taxed in the manner that appears to them to be reasonable, and agreeable to the land tax acts of parliament in our mother country. I am not inclined to enter into any dispute with you on the subject, since it cannot be decided on this side the water; nor can I see what good end it can answer, as the proprietaries have

positively enjoined me, not to pass any bill that is against their instruction. As his majesty's service, and the defence of this province, render it necessary to raise immediate supplies, I must earnestly recommend it to you to frame such a bill as it is in my power to pass, consistent with my honor and my engagements to the proprietaries, which I am persuaded you will not desire me to violate. I have some amendments to propose to particular parts of the bill now before me, which I shall communicate to you, as soon as I know whether you determine to prepare a new bill, free from the objection I have abovementioned." Upon this the house of assembly came to a resolution which was digested in the form of a remonstrance, by Mr. Franklin, as the internal evidence of the language plainly demonstrates. It was as follows:

"The representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, do hereby humbly remonstrate to your honor, that the proprietaries professed willingness to be taxed, mentioned by your honor, in your message of Tuesday last, can be intended only to amuse and deceive their superiors; since they have in their instructions excepted all their quit-rents, located unimproved lands, purchase-money at interest, and in short, so much of their vast estate, as to reduce their tax, as far as appears to us, below that of a common farmer or tradesman.

"That though the proprietaries instructions are by no means laws in this province, we have so far complied with them, as to confine the sum given to be raised in one year. And had we complied with them in the other particulars, the raising any thing near the sum required by the present exigencies of the province, would be absolutely impossible.

"That the apparent necessity of so large a sum for his majesty's service, and the defence of this his province, founded upon the governor's own estimate, has obliged us to an effort beyond our strength, being assured, that hundreds of families must be distressed to pay this tax.

"That we have, in the due exercise of our just rights by the royal and provincial charters, and the laws of this pro-

vince, and as an English representative body, framed this bill, consistent with those rights.

“That the bill is agreeable to justice and equity with regard to the proprietaries, and is not repugnant to the laws of our mother country, but as nearly agreeable thereto as our different circumstances will permit; nor is it contrary to any royal instruction whatever. That great as the sum is, and hard for this people to pay, we freely offer it to our gracious king for his service, and the defence of this colony from his majesty’s enemies.

“That the proprietaries refusing to permit us to grant money to the crown in this time of war, and imminent danger to the province, unless we will consent thus to exempt their estates from the tax, we conceive to be injurious to the interests of the crown, and tyrannical with regard to the people.

“That we do further humbly conceive, neither the proprietaries, nor any other power on earth, ought to interfere between us and our sovereign, either to modify, or refuse our free gifts and grants for his majesty’s service.

“That though the governor may be under obligations to the proprietaries, we conceive he is under greater to the crown, and to the people he is appointed to govern; to promote the service of the former, preserve the rights of the latter, and protect them from their cruel enemies.

“We do, therefore, in the name of our most gracious sovereign, and in behalf of the distressed people we represent, unanimously DEMAND it of the governor as our RIGHT, that he give his assent to the bill we now present him, for granting to his majesty one hundred thousand pounds for the defence of this province, (and as it is a money-bill, without alteration or amendment, any instructions whatsoever from the proprietaries notwithstanding) as he will answer to the crown for all the consequences of his refusal at his peril.

(Signed by order of the house)

ISAAC NORRIS, Speaker.

January 28, 1757.

This spirited remonstrance, in which it might be almost said that argument and satire are blended, failed to produce any other effect upon the governor than of confirming his refusal, and of drawing from him a labored justification, grounded upon parliamentary usage in England, and the supposed hardship of taxing the unimproved lands of the proprietaries. His objections were replied to *seriatim* by the house, and at considerable length, but with that perspicuity for which Franklin was ever distinguished. At the conclusion it was “ordered, February 28, 1757, that Mr. Roberdeau and Mr. Yorke do wait upon the governor with the bill for granting one hundred thousand pounds for the defence of the province, and acquaint him, that upon receiving his honor’s message of the 12th instant, sent down with our last supply bill, the committee to whom that message was referred, have reported fully upon all the objections against that bill, which, after mature deliberation, the house have approved, and find those objections are rather excuses for not passing the bill, than reasons against it:—That the bill itself is only a supplement to an act, which, after a full hearing before the lords of trade, has very lately received the royal assent; and we confined ourselves to that act, with as few alterations as possible, apprehending the bill would be free from all objections under the royal sanction so lately obtained:—That by the estimate the governor laid before us this session, he computes the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds as necessary to be raised for the defence of the province in the ensuing year; and yet upon the most exact computation we have been able to make, no more than thirty thousand pounds could be raised upon the province in one year by his restricted powers, and not one-third of his proposed estimate, by the addition of all the other measures he has proposed, if the house were so insensible of the duty they owe to their constituents as to take their money laws from him only:—That therefore we desire to know his final result upon this bill, which we once more send up for his concurrence; and if he should, notwithstanding, continue to refuse his assent to

it as it now stands, we must refer it to his honor to pay the forces by him raised, or to disband them, as he shall judge he can best answer for his conduct to his majesty, whose colony we apprehend to be in imminent danger, and for the defence whereof we have in vain endeavored to make the necessary provision as far as lay in our power."

Great events it has been frequently observed spring from little causes, and though the contest between the governor and the assembly of Pennsylvania was far from being in itself of trivial import, considering the variety of interests which it involved, yet as being a local and private concern, no extensive consequences could reasonably have been expected to flow from it. To the philosophical historian, however, who watches the influence of casual occurrences upon the actions and opinions of eminent men, it will appear more than probable, that this struggle for an equalization of rights in one province, led the way, or at least incidentally prepared the people of America for a more general resistance to arbitrary impositions. The refusal of the proprietaries to take their part of the public burthens, while they enjoyed all the increasing advantages resulting from the security thereby afforded, brought questions under discussion which might otherwise have lain dormant. Certain it is that these disputes, by calling the energetic mind of Benjamin Franklin into a new field of inquiry, and clothing him with the diplomatic character, enlarged the sphere of his observation, and fitted him for those extraordinary services in which he acquired the greatest glory by contributing to that of his country.

On his arrival in England he found, that innumerable and weighty obstacles were thrown in his way, by the art and industry of those who had an interest in prejudicing the public mind against the force of his representations. For this purpose the newspapers were constantly supplied with paragraphs, under the form of *Intelligence from Pennsylvania*, but in reality manufactured in London, and conveying gross reflections upon the assembly and the inhabitants of the province, who were described as actuated by selfish motives and

a refractory spirit, because they persisted in withstanding the claim of the proprietaries to an exemption from that taxation which was necessary to the defence of their own estates. To increase the mortification of the provincial agent, he saw that the people were so little acquainted with the internal condition of the colonies, as almost to regard with indifference any complaint of grievances which issued thence. Besides this, the public attention being fixed upon the progress of the war in Germany, rendered it a still more arduous task to remove the impressions produced by interested individuals, against the equitable claims of the inhabitants of a settlement in another part of the world. If to these formidable impediments be added the natural reluctance of government to interpose in local disputes, arising from the ambiguity, or even the abuse of royal grants, it will be seen that the representative of the Pennsylvania assembly had more to dishearten than to encourage him in the mission which had been entrusted to his zeal and management. Considering the complexion of European politics at that period, and the superior influence of those with whom he had to negotiate or contend, his situation was of a description that would have depressed men of vigorous intellect and of the most enlarged experience in the intrigues of public business. But it was well perhaps for the immediate benefit of the particular province to which he stood related, and also for the future advantage of the American states, that these difficulties occurred, as they not only brought into exercise the powers of him who was fitted to overcome them, but laid the foundation of connexions and improvements that in all probability would not otherwise have taken place.

One of the first objects attended to by Dr. Franklin, was the current of public opinion on the concern in which he was peculiarly interested, and to observe the means adopted to give that opinion a bias unfavorable to the cause which he had to support. Finding that the press was employed for this purpose, he resolved to avail himself of the same source of information, and fully aware of his own strength, no less

than of the justice of what he defended, he entertained the confident assurance of being able to refute calumny by facts, and to correct the errors arising from misrepresentation by simple and conclusive reasoning.

An opportunity soon offered to bring the subject fairly before the public, in consequence of the insertion of an article in a paper called the "*Citizen, or General Advertiser*," stating that recent letters from Philadelphia brought dreadful accounts of the ravages committed by the Indians on the inhabitants of the back provinces; and that notwithstanding these cruelties the disputes between the governor and the assembly were carried on to as great a height as ever, the messages on both sides being expressed in terms which gave very little hopes of a reconciliation. The intelligence then went into particulars, by saying the bill to raise money was clogged, so as to prevent the governor from giving his consent to it; and that the obstinacy of the Quakers in the assembly was such, that they would in no shape alter it; so that while the enemy was in the heart of the country, cavils prevented any thing being done for its relief. The evident object of this paragraph was to create general indignation against the assembly, by making it appear that the members of it were of so factious a disposition as to sacrifice the welfare of their country for the gratification of private ends, and so dead to all the finer feelings of humanity as to abandon their helpless fellow-creatures to savage ferocity, rather than lay aside their particular differences. It did not require the sagacity of Benjamin Franklin to discover that this fabrication originated in a spirit of alarm occasioned by the circumstance that an accredited agent on the part of the province was in London; but reflecting that, as such, it did not become him on the one hand to enter upon the public discussion of the concern which he was employed to bring to an amicable conclusion, nor on the other to preserve an absolute silence, which might prove detrimental to the interests of those whom he represented, he therefore judiciously caused a reply, bearing the name of his son, to be inserted in the same journal;

from which he had the satisfaction of seeing it transplanted into other papers of greater importance and more extensive circulation. In this letter, dated from the Pennsylvania coffee house, London, September 16, 1757, the author repels the insinuation thrown out against one province, as if it quiescently suffered more from the Indians than any other, by shewing that the contrary was the fact, and that the rest of the colonies were as much exposed to savage depredation as Pennsylvania. In the next place he observes, that the inhabitants on the frontiers of that province were not Quakers, and that so far from entertaining the passive principles of this sect, they were supplied with arms, and had frequently repelled the enemy. On the subject of the disputes so invidiously mentioned in the pretended news, it was shewn that they were occasioned chiefly by new instructions or commands sent from England, forbidding the governors to sanction any laws imposing taxes for the defence of the country, unless the proprietary estate, or much the greatest part of it, was exempted from the burthen. With respect to the Quakers, who had been represented as the instigators of the contention, the author of the letter satisfactorily proved, by the adduction of facts, that they constituted but a small part of the existing population of the province, and were no more active in the disputes than the rest of the inhabitants, who, with the exception of the *proprietary officers and their dependants*, had joined in opposing the instructions and contending for their rights. In farther vindication of the Quakers it was observed, that notwithstanding their scruple about bearing arms, they had contributed largely for the defence of the country; and that, to prevent any obstruction in the assembly from their peculiar opinions, they had for the most part declined sitting in the assembly. Having thus cleared unfounded objections, and illiberal aspersions, the letter proceeded to a statistical account of the province, and of the spirit of the people, from which the British public might see that every thing had been done there to secure the frontier and to protect the trade of the neigh-

boring governments, without any contributions, either from those colonies or the mother country.

This paper was well adapted to draw the attention of thinking men to the real state of Pennsylvania, and the nature of the grievances complained of by the great body of its inhabitants, whose misfortune it was to have their cause little understood, where only they had to look for a remedy. To remove this obstacle more effectually, and to bring the subject so fully before the public as to render all the arts of misrepresentation no longer availing to the selfish purposes of an interested party, Mr. Franklin, while engaged in negotiation with the proprietaries, employed his leisure hours in drawing up a minute account of the province for general information. The necessity of such a publication was obvious from the insidious attempts made, through various journals, to blaken the inhabitants of Pennsylvania with the foul charges of ingratitude to the founder of that colony, injustice to its present proprietors, and even disaffection to the parent country. Mr. Franklin saw with concern that this delusion prevailed to such a degree as to give him little chance of success in the object of his mission, until he could dispel the cloud of prejudice that craft had raised, and convince the British nation of the wrong which it countenanced, through ignorance and credulity. But knowing that it is in the nature of discussion to elicit truth, and of perseverance to defeat falsehood, he resolved to publish a volume that should attract notice by the manner of its composition, and produce effect by the importance of the matter which it contained. With this view he began to trace the history of the province from its primary settlement, and to exhibit the various changes which it had progressively undergone in the form of its government. Having sketched his design, he found that it grew upon his hands, as it not only obliged him to enter minutely into the detail of facts and the adduction of records, but to illustrate them by explanations and to apply them by reflections. This performance appeared at the beginning of 1759, with the title of "*An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government*

of Pennsylvania from its origin; so far as regards the several points of controversy which have from time to time arisen between the several governors of Pennsylvania and their several assemblies. Founded on authentic documents." To which was prefixed this motto: "*Those who give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.*"^c This work was necessarily anonymous; and the strictest circumspection appears to have been observed in regard to the author, who being at that time employed in negotiating with the proprietaries, as well as in bringing the business before the privy council, could not well publish any statement of the matters under discussion in his own name. The "*REVIEW*," therefore, long passed as the production of *James Ralph*, the historian, who having long resided in Philadelphia, and being generally known as a political writer, was the more easily believed to have taken this deep interest in the concerns of a province with which he was well acquainted. There is little doubt indeed that this ascription of the book to Ralph, was a matter perfectly agreeable to the real author, if not actually concerted by him, for the purpose of diverting the attention of those persons who, from interested motives and resentment, might have been disposed to represent his appeal to the public as an injury to individuals, and an insult offered to government. Mr. Franklin was aware, that his mission excited jealousy, and that his conduct would therefore be closely watched, in order to take the advantage of any inadvertencies which he might commit. While, therefore, he saw the expediency of setting the nation right on the subject in dispute, in order to justify the colonists on the one hand, and to reduce the extravagant claims of those who lorded it over them on the other; he was careful to do this in such a manner as should not give offence to any party. At present the internal character of the book is too strongly marked to mislead any one that is at all conversant with the style of Franklin; but when it originally appeared, his re-

^c This historical review forms Vol. II. of this edition.

putation as a writer was not sufficiently established to render the discovery easy by the simple test of literary composition. Such, however, were its attractions in this respect, that notwithstanding the peculiar aridity of the subject, the work gained public notice, and was distinguished by the approbation of those who were most competent to decide upon its merits.

The dedication to Arthur Onslow, the venerable speaker of the house of commons, would alone be sufficient to ascertain the hand whence the review proceeded; for, independent of its epigrammatic turns and general terseness, it breathes the language of a person acting by the authority of the provincialists, whose cause he so powerfully pleaded.

That introduction will be found in page xxxiii of the second volume of this edition; and a sprightly dedication in page xv. This review abounds with original and vigorous ideas—"Power like water is ever working its way; and wherever it can find or make an opening, is altogether as prone to overflow whatever is subject to it: and though matter of right overlooked may be reclaimed and restored at any time, it cannot be too soon reclaimed and restored."

A writer who was a contemporary, speaking of this "*Review*," says, "Pennsylvania had in our author a most zealous and able advocate. His sentiments are manly, liberal, and spirited. His style close, nervous, and rhetorical. By a forcible display of the oppression of his clients, he inclines the reader to pity their condition, and by an enumeration of their virtues he endeavors to remove the idea, which may be entertained of their unimportance; and that, abstracted from their consideration in a political light, they claim our regard by reason of their own personal merits."

The publication, though anonymous, undoubtedly produced a considerable effect; and by bringing the grievances of the colonists closely under the consideration of the British public, tended materially to facilitate the object of the author, and even to enlarge his views with regard to the inconvenience of the proprietary government. Finding that the family of

the founder would not relax in their demands, and that the publication of this explicit statement had exasperated them in no ordinary degree, the agent for the province brought the cause of his clients in the shape of a petition before the privy council. Such indeed was his activity, and so confident were the provincialists of the success of their cause in his hands, that during his residence in England the assembly passed a law for the imposition of a tax, in which no exemption was made in favor of the proprietary estates. This bill received the assent of governor Denny, which plainly evinced, that the governor felt not only the reasonableness of the measure itself, but the certainty that his employers must soon yield to the persevering efforts of their opponents. The proprietaries, on receiving the intelligence of this advance in the cause of independence, exerted themselves to prevent the royal sanction from being given to the money-bill which their own governor had passed, but which they represented as subversive of their chartered rights, and tending to ruin themselves and their posterity, by bringing upon them all the expenses necessary for the defence and support of the province. The cause, however, proceeded before the lords of the council, and though the Penn family did not want powerful support, and very able advocates, such was the force of simple truth and the evidence of plain facts, that the agent of the colony soon perceived the advantage which had been gained by his prudent management and seasonable publication. After some delay and much tedious discussion, a proposal of accommodation was made on the part of the proprietaries, that Mr. Franklin should engage for his employers not to assess the estates in question beyond their due proportion. To this proposition no objection could be offered, for it in fact conceded the very ground of litigation, and established by consent of the contending parties and under the authority of government, all the rights to which the inhabitants of Pennsylvania laid claim, and of which they had been so long deprived. This termination of the controversy brought the abilities of Franklin into full exercise, and the engagement into which

he entered was so scrupulously fulfilled, as to raise him in the estimation of those persons who had for a considerable time looked upon him with jealousy, and considered him as inimical to their interests. The conspicuous light in which this business placed his talents and integrity sufficiently appeared, indeed, by the circumstance, that when the conclusion of the dispute became known in America, the colonies of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia, were anxious to have him for their agent in England; which appointment suiting his views and connexions was readily accepted, and as honorably discharged.

His conduct, however, in the Pennsylvanian differences, though so unequivocally marked by the public approbation of those who were the most competent to judge of its merits, has not passed without censure; and the late biographer of William Penn, finding it necessary to vindicate that extraordinary character from the various charges and surmises brought against him by various writers, among the rest took notice of the *Historical Review*, published by Franklin, and the spirit in which it was composed. Mr. Clarkson observes, that this book was the production of Franklin, "though it was attributed to one Ralph, to prejudice the people against the proprietary family, in order to effect a change of government from proprietary to royal; which was afterwards attempted, but which to his great chagrin failed. This failure laid the foundation of his animosity to Great Britain, which was so conspicuous afterwards."^f

Here the biographer, in his zeal to defend the founder of Pennsylvania, has committed the very fault which he has endeavored to fasten as an error upon Franklin; for it certainly is not true that the latter wrote his book to effect a change in the government, which design there is every reason to believe had not been even conceived at the time, however it may have been long after. The work was drawn up for no other

^f Memoirs of the private and public life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. Vol. II. p. 386.

purpose than to exhibit the state of the province, and to make the nation clearly acquainted with the progressive grievances of which the inhabitants complained. Undoubtedly these grievances were in a great measure traced by the author to the manner in which William Penn had secured his property originally, and provided for an increase of it in the event of the prosperous advance of the colony.

The historian of Pennsylvania could not avoid noticing the double part which this celebrated legislator had played, as proprietary and governor; for the people of his own persuasion, who had embarked with him in this concern, had heavily and repeatedly complained of his conduct towards them, and their charges against him upon record, are infinitely more severe than the slight touches of sarcastic reflection scattered here and there in the *REVIEW*. Nor is it true that the disappointment experienced in the failure of the projected alteration in the government from proprietary to royal, laid the foundation of any animosity in the mind of Franklin against Great Britain; for it is a well-known fact, that the differences between the parent country and the colonies were the source of great uneasiness to him; and he endeavored all that lay in his power to prevent the rupture which ensued. This will clearly appear in the sequel of these memoirs.

Mr. Clarkson very properly enters into a justification of Penn's moral character, and he has succeeded in a great degree in clearing up many doubtful points, which tended, on the authority of respectable writers, to bring the principles of that eminent man into suspicion; but the same love of justice ought to have prevented the biographer and panegyrist of Penn, from throwing illiberal reflections, and alleging unfounded accusations, against one who was not at least inferior to him in ability and integrity. Nevertheless Mr. Clarkson is willing to obtain the testimony of Franklin in favor of the object of his admiration, though it is to be regretted that he could not even do this without mixing with his quotation something disrespectful of the very authority which he cited.

"Nay," says he, "if I mistake not, Dr. Franklin himself was among those who highly respected Penn."

The doctor had a satirical way of expressing himself when he was not pleased, and therefore when he found fault with William Penn, he could not get rid of his old habit; but the hostility he manifested was far more in manner than in heart. He was assuredly more severe upon William Penn's grandsons, against whom (it is said) he published a small pamphlet, where, as if no other way had been left to expose them, it is singular that he contrasted their conduct with the virtuous example of their noble ancestor. The little ludicrous motto, prefixed to this work, and which was taken from John Rogers's primer, may enable the reader to judge in part of its contents:

"I send you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may see your father's face,
Now he is dead and gone."

The ingenious eulogist of Penn, however, does not seem to have been aware, that in attempting to invalidate the testimony of Franklin, he had before completely destroyed the value of his praise. In the general view of the character of Penn, no doubt the latter concurred fully with the voice of the public;[§] but knowing as he did the minuter parts of the history of his connexions with the province which bears his name, it was impossible either to pass them over in absolute silence, or to speak of them without some observation on the want of consistency in so great a man.

Thus much it was proper here to remark, because if a necessity existed for the justification of Penn from any reflections bestowed upon him by the historian of his settlement, it must be equally necessary to show that these reflections

[§] In a letter to Mr. David Barclay, dated Passy, January 8, 1783, Dr. Franklin thus expresses himself. "Your friends on both sides the Atlantic, may be assured of whatever justice or favor I may be able to procure for them. My *veneration* for William Penn is not less than yours; and I have always had great esteem for the body of your people."

did not proceed from the wantonness of a satirical humor, or the malignity of wit, but from an attentive examination of the subject, and the paramount love of truth, in a concern which demanded an investigation in detail, and a full exposition for the ends of justice.

While Benjamin Franklin was engaged in this troublesome but important concern, at the court of Great Britain, he had opportunities of becoming acquainted with many persons of the first consequence in the state, who, on their side were not wanting in observing his extraordinary sagacity and comprehensive understanding. The war in which Great Britain was then involved, could not fail to excite much of his attention, and he was not alone in the opinion, that by pursuing the contest solely in Germany, England incurred an enormous expenditure, without either reaping any immediate advantage, or facilitating an honorable termination. There was something, indeed, peculiarly splendid in the achievements of the king of Prussia; and the nation, without knowing why, seemed to identify the cause of that monarch with the security of the Protestant religion, and the maintenance of the balance of power, the favorite delusions of that period. The judgment of Franklin was unbiassed by prejudices which had no foundation in reason, and too cool to be warmed by the report of victories, the result of which appeared to be little more than an occasion for renewed exertions and more sanguinary conflicts, without any definite object or satisfactory prospect. He contemplated the interests of Britain in a more dispassionate point of view, than those who made them dependant upon the success of subsidized allies; and knowing by experience, how desirous France was to gain a more extended footing in America, he thought it would be the wisest way to counteract her ambitious projects, by an attack upon her own colony. Franklin was no stranger to Canada, and he was thoroughly persuaded that the possession of that country gave to the French a commanding influence over the Indians, of which they never failed to take an advantage, to the annoyance of

the English colonies. Looking upon France in relation to England as another Carthage, he formed the project of destroying her maritime ascendancy; as well to strengthen the political and commercial state of Great Britain, as to provide a permanent security for her foreign dependencies. The more he weighed the subject in his mind, the more was he satisfied that the true interest of Great Britain lay in weakening her rival on the side of America, rather than in Germany; and these sentiments he imparted to some of his friends, by whom they were reported to the indefatigable William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham; who no sooner consulted him on the practicability of the conquest, than he was convinced by the force of his arguments, and determined by the simple accuracy of his statements. The enterprise was immediately undertaken, the command given to general Wolfe, and conducted with such celerity, as completely to deceive France, who had no apprehensions for the safety of Canada, till the intelligence reached Europe of its being irrevocably lost. This acquisition gave a new turn to the political interests of the English colonies, and followed as it soon was by a new reign, it contributed very materially to the restoration of peace. The brilliancy of the conquest of Canada, and the powerful pamphlet written about this time by Franklin's intimate friend, *Israel Mauduit*, a merchant of London, on the impolicy of German wars, drew the attention of the nation to the importance of that country, and the necessity of preserving it for the welfare of our own colonies. There were not wanting, however, some politicians who considered the possession of Canada in another light, and as less desirable than the retention of Guadaloupe, which about the same time surrendered to the British arms.

On the prospect of peace with France, the earl of Bath, addressed "*A Letter to two great men*," (Mr. Pitt and the duke of Newcastle) on the terms necessary to be insisted on in the negotiations. He preferred the acquisition of Canada, to the acquisitions in the West Indies. In the same year (1760) there appeared, "*Remarks on the Letter addressed to*

two great Men," (written by Messieurs Burkes^b) containing opposite opinions on this and other subjects. At this time Mr. Franklin stepped into the controversy, and wrote a pamphlet, in which he was assisted by his friend Mr. Richard Jackson, (who desired not to be known on the occasion) entitled, "*The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to the Colonies, and the acquisition of Canada and Guadeloupe,*"ⁱ in which were pointed out in the most clear and forcible manner, the advantages that would result to Great Britain from the retention of Canada; demonstrating also, that the security of a dominion, is a justifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand cessions from an enemy;—that the erection of forts in the back settlements, was almost in no instance a sufficient security against the Indians and the French; but that the possession of Canada implied every security, and ought to be had while in the power of the British government:—and that the French retaining Canada, would be an encouragement to disaffection in the British colonies, &c.

These arguments appear to have had the desired effect, for at the treaty in 1762, France ceded Canada to Great Britain, and by the cession of Louisiana at the same time, relinquished all her possessions on the North American continent.

Mr. Franklin about this time made a journey to Scotland, whither his reputation as a philosopher had preceded him: he was greeted by the learned of that country, and the uni-

^b Of this name there were four, who obtained some eminence separately and associated. Edmund Burke the most celebrated of the four, and whose history is associated with the two great revolutions of the last century; his brother Richard, who became recorder of the city of Bristol; William Burke the cousin of these two, who was for a time secretary to general Conway, and an army paymaster in India, through whom Edmund received the most minute details of those events, which enabled him to bring Hastings before the house of lords; the fourth was Richard the son of Edmund, most celebrated as a confidential agent of the British government in Ireland, and at the conferences of Pilnitz, in 1791. *Edit.*

ⁱ See Vol. IV. page 39

versity of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of *doctor of laws*. Its example was followed by the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford. The entries of the honors conferred by the latter, on himself and son, are thus made :

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, esq. Provinc. Pensylvan. Deputat. ad Curiam Sereniss. Legat Tabellariorum per American Septentrionalem Præfectus Generalis et Veredariorum totius Novæ Angliæ, et. R. S. S. cr. D. C. L. Apr. 30, 1762,

FRANKLIN, (WILLIAM) esq. Juris Municip. Consult. cr. M. A. Apr. 30, 1762.

Most of the other learned societies of Europe were equally ambitious of calling him a member, and nominated him as such: thus he was eventually consoled and rewarded for the neglect or opposition his discoveries in philosophy had originally experienced.

Soon after this period, a vacancy in the government of New Jersey having occurred, Dr. Franklin's son, without any solicitation whatever on the part of his father, but from his own personal merits, and in consideration of his military services in America during the last war, (backed by the powerful recommendation of lord Bute,) was appointed governor of that province.

Governor Franklin filled this high and honorable situation with equal credit to himself and advantage to the province, till the commencement of the American revolution; when, unlike most of the governors of the other provinces at that eventful period, he remained undismayed at his post, till he was seized by the revolutionary government, conveyed to Connecticut, and rigorously detained as a prisoner for near two years, when he was eventually liberated in 1778, in exchange for an American general officer. He retired to England and obtained from the British government a pension, which he enjoyed till his death, in 1813.

It has been frequently asserted, that Dr. Franklin held out every temptation and inducement to his son to quit his allegiance to Great Britain, and to take part with the colonies. This was not so: Dr. Franklin made no attempt of the sort, whatever may have been his secret wishes on that subject. In

a letter to his son of Oct. 6, 1773,^k he says: "I know your sentiments differ from mine on these subjects. You are a thorough government man, which I do not wonder at, *nor do I aim at converting you.* I only wish you to act uprightly and steadily, avoiding that duplicity, which in Hutchinson adds contempt to indignation. If you can promote the prosperity of your people, and leave them happier than you found them, *whatever your political principles are,* your memory will be honored."

During the whole of the American contest, Dr. Franklin never had any communication whatever with his son, either directly or indirectly: but at the close of the war, in answer to an overture from him towards a reconciliation, the father thus feelingly expressed his sentiments on his son's late political conduct.

Passy, August 16, 1784.

"DEAR SON,

"I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, and am glad to find, that you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It will be very agreeable to me: indeed nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age, by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms^l against me, in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune, and life, were all at stake. You conceived, you say, that your duty to your king and regard for your country required this. I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiment with me in public affairs. We are men all subject to errors. Our opinions are not in our own power; they are formed and governed much by circumstances, that are often as inexplicable as they are irresistible. Your situation was such, that few would have censured your remaining neuter, *though there are natural duties which precede*

^k See "Private Correspondence."

^l Governor Franklin (it is believed) formed and commanded the *corps of royalists* at New York.

political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them. This is a disagreeable subject: I drop it. And we will endeavor, as you propose, mutually to forget what has happened relating to it, as well as we can. I send your son over to pay his duty to you. You will find him much improved. He is greatly esteemed and beloved in this country, and will make his way any where. &c."

In the summer of 1762, Dr. Franklin returned to Philadelphia, and shortly after received the thanks of the assembly of Pennsylvania, "*as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important services done to America in general, during his residence in Great Britain.*" A compensation of five thousand pounds Pennsylvania currency, was also decreed him for his services during six years. Even in his absence he had been annually elected a member of the assembly of representatives of the province, and he again took his seat in that body, and continued his exertions for the liberties and welfare of the country.

In December, 1762, considerable alarm was occasioned in the province, by what was called *the Paxton murders*. It is thus related: "A number of Indians had resided in the county of Lancaster, and conducted themselves uniformly as friends to the white inhabitants. Repeated depredations on the frontiers, had exasperated the inhabitants to such a degree, that they determined on revenge upon every Indian. A number of persons, to the amount of about one hundred and twenty, principally inhabitants of Donnegal and Peckstang, or *Paxton*, township, in the county of York, assembled; and, mounted on horseback, proceeded to the settlement of these harmless and defenceless Indians, whose number had now been reduced to about twenty. The Indians had received intelligence of the attack which was intended against them, but disbelieved it: considering the white people as their friends, they apprehended no danger from them. When the party arrived at the Indian settlement, they found only some women and children, and a few old men, the rest being ab-

sent at work. They murdered all whom they found, and amongst others the chief *Shaheas*, who had always been distinguished for his friendship to the whites. This bloody deed excited much indignation in the well-disposed part of the community.

“The remainder of these unfortunate Indians, who by absence had escaped the massacre, were conducted to Lancaster, and lodged in the gaol as a place of security. The governor of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the action, offering a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the deed, and prohibiting all injuries to the peaceable inhabitants in future. But notwithstanding this, a party of the same men shortly after marched to Lancaster, broke open the gaol, and inhumanly butchered the innocent Indians who had been placed there for security. Another proclamation was issued, but it had no effect. A detachment marched down to Philadelphia, for the express purpose of murdering some friendly Indians, who had been removed to the city for safety. A number of the citizens armed in their defence. The Quakers, whose principles are opposed to fighting, even in their own defence, were most active on this occasion. The rioters came to Germantown, within five miles of Philadelphia. The governor fled for safety to the house of Dr. Franklin, who, with some others, advanced, to meet the *Paxton-boys*, as they were called, and had influence enough to prevail upon them to relinquish their undertaking, and return to their homes.”—Dr. Franklin wrote a pamphlet on this occasion, which had a considerable effect, in soothing the passions, and restoring tranquillity. His services, however, were but ill requited by the governor, who was, as well as the province, under great obligations to his active and successful exertions.

The disputes between the proprietaries and the assembly, which had so long agitated the province, and which had for a time subsided, were again revived, and are thus accounted for :

“The proprietaries were discontent at the concessions made in favor of the people, and again exerted themselves to recover the privilege of exempting their own estates from taxation, which they had been induced, with great reluctance, to relinquish.

“In 1763, the assembly passed a *Militia Bill*, to which the governor refused to give his assent, unless the assembly would agree to certain amendments which he proposed. These consisted in increasing the fines, and in some cases substituting *death* for fines. He wished, too, that the officers should be appointed altogether by himself, and not nominated by the people, as the bill had proposed. These amendments the assembly considered as inconsistent with the spirit of liberty: they would not adopt them, the governor was obstinate, and the bill was lost.”

These and various other circumstances, increased the uneasiness which subsisted between the proprietaries and the assembly to such a degree, that in 1764, a petition to the king was agreed to by the house, praying an alteration from a *proprietary* to a *regal* government. The following draught of the same was found in Dr. Franklin’s papers:

To the king’s most excellent majesty, in council,
The *petition* of the representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania in general assembly met,
Most humbly sheweth,

“That the government of this province by *proprieties*, has by long experience been found inconvenient, attended with many difficulties and obstructions to your majesty’s service, arising from the intervention of proprietary private interest in public affairs, and disputes concerning those interests.

“That the said proprietary-government is weak, unable to support its own authority, and maintain the common internal peace of the province, great riots having lately arisen therein, armed mobs marching from place to place, and committing violent outrages and insults on the government with impunity, to the great terror of your majesty’s subjects. And these

evils are not likely to receive any remedy here, the continual disputes between the proprietaries and people, and their mutual jealousies and dislikes preventing.

“ We do therefore, most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the government of this province, making such compensation to the proprietaries for the same as to your majesty’s wisdom and goodness shall appear just and equitable, and permitting your dutiful subjects therein to enjoy, under your majesty’s more immediate care and protection, the privileges that have been granted to them by and under your royal predecessors.

“ By order of the house.”

Great opposition was made to this measure, not only in the house, but in the public prints. A speech of Mr. Dickinson on the subject was published with a preface by Dr. Smith, in which great pains were taken to show the impropriety and impolicy of this proceeding. A speech of Joseph Galloway, esquire, in reply to Mr. Dickinson, was also published, accompanied by a preface by Dr. Franklin, in which he ably opposed the principles laid down in the preface to Mr. Dickinson’s speech. Among other pointed remarks, Dr. Franklin says:

“ In the constitution of our government, and in that of one more, there still remains a particular thing that none of the other American governments have; to wit, the appointment of a governor by the *proprietors*, instead of an appointment by the *crown*. This particular in government has been found inconvenient; attended with contentions and confusions wherever it existed; and has therefore been gradually taken away from colony after colony, and every where greatly to the satisfaction and happiness of the people. Our wise first proprietor and founder^m was fully sensible of this; and being desirous of leaving his people happy, and preventing the mischiefs that he foresaw must arise from that circumstance, if

^m William Penn.

it was continued, he determined to take it away, if possible, during his own life-time. They accordingly entered into a contract for the sale of the proprietary right of government to the crown; and actually received a sum in part of the consideration. As he found himself likely to die before that contract (and with it his plan for the happiness of his people) could be completed, he carefully made it a part of his last will and testament; devising the right of the government to two noble lords, in trust, that they should release it to the crown. Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the assembly now desire to have done. Surely he that formed our constitution, must have understood it. If he had imagined that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government, will any one suppose that he would himself have meditated the change; that he would have taken such effectual measures as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the baseness of endeavoring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had promised them, and by the most solemn charters and grants assured to them, when he engaged them to assist him in the settlement of his province? Surely none can be so inconsistent!—And yet this proprietary right of governing or appointing a governor, has all of a sudden changed its nature; and the preservation of it become of so much importance to the welfare of the province, that the assembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is styled an 'attempt to violate the constitution for which our fathers planted a wilderness; to barter away our glorious plan of public liberty and charter privileges; a risking of the whole constitution; an offering up our whole charter rights; a wanton sporting with things sacred,' &c."

In addition to the preface just mentioned, Dr. Franklin wrote a pamphlet, entitled "*Cool Thoughts*," tending to pre-

note the same views. The assembly's application to the throne however, produced no effect, and the proprietary government remained unchanged.

At the election for a new assembly, in the autumn of 1764, the friends of the proprietaries made great exertions to exclude those of the adverse party; and they obtained a small majority in the city of Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin on this occasion lost his seat in the house, which he had held for fourteen years. On the meeting of the assembly, however, it appeared that there was still a decided majority of his friends, and he was again appointed to resume his agency at the court of Great Britain, to the great chagrin of his enemies, who made a solemn protest against his appointment; but which was refused admission upon the minutes, as being unprecedented. It was, however, published in the papers, and produced a spirited reply, from him, entitled "*Remarks on a late Protest,*" &c.

The opposition made to his re-appointment seems greatly to have affected his feelings; as it came from men with whom he had long been connected, both in public and private life, "*the very ashes of whose former friendship,*" he declared, "*he revered,*" His pathetic farewell to Pennsylvania, in the publication abovementioned, the day before his departure, is a strong proof of the agitation of his mind on this occasion.

"I am now," says he, "to take leave (perhaps a last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life. *Esto perpetua!*—I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends, and I forgive my enemies."

An eloquent divine^a has observed on this occasion, "That under whatsoever circumstances this second embassy was undertaken, it appears to have been a measure pre-ordained in the councils of Heaven; and it will be for ever remembered to the honor of Pennsylvania, that the agent selected to assert and defend the rights of a single province at the court of Great Britain, became the bold asserter of the rights of

^a Dr. William Smith, Provost of Philadelphia College.

America in general; and beholding the fetters that were forging for her, conceived the magnanimous thought of rending them asunder before they could be rivetted."

The disturbances produced in America by Mr. Grenville's *Stamp Act*, and the opposition made to it are well known. But the origin thereof has generally been misunderstood. The following letter from Dr. Franklin on that subject, will correct some of the misrepresentations relative thereto.

To William Alexander, Esq.

Passy, March 12, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

IN the pamphlet you were so kind as to lend me, there is one important fact mis-stated, apparently from the writer's not having been furnished with good information; it is the transaction between Mr. Grenville and the colonies, wherein he understands that Mr. Grenville demanded of them a specific sum, that they refused to grant any thing, and that it was on their refusal only that he made a motion for the *Stamp Act*. No one of these particulars is true. The fact was this.

Some time in the winter of 1763-4, Mr. Grenville called together the agents of the several colonies, and told them that he purposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by act of parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know it. The agents were therefore directed to write this to their respective assemblies, and communicate to him the answers they should receive: the agents wrote accordingly.

I was a member in the assembly of Pennsylvania, when this notification came to hand. The observations there made upon it were, that the antient, established, and regular method of drawing aids from the colonies was this. The occa-

sion was always first considered by their sovereign in his privy council, by whose sage advice, he directed his secretary of state to write circular letters to the several governors, who were directed to lay them before their assemblies. In those letters the occasion was explained for their satisfaction, with gracious expressions of his majesty's confidence in their known duty and affection, on which he relied, that they would grant such sums as should be suitable to their abilities, loyalty, and zeal for his service. That the colonies had always granted liberally on such requisitions, and so liberally during the late war, that the king, sensible they had granted much more than their proportion, had recommended it to parliament five years successively, to make them some compensation, and the parliament accordingly returned them two hundred thousand pounds a-year to be divided among them. That the proposition of taxing them in parliament, was therefore both cruel and unjust.* That by the constitution of the colonies their business was with the king in matters of aid, they had nothing to do with any financier, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made; it was therefore improper for them to enter into any stipulation, or make any proposition to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the king's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; as the king, when he would obtain any thing from them, always accompanied his requisition with good words, but this gentleman, instead of a decent demand sent them a menace, that they should certainly be taxed, and only left them the choice of the manner. But all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the

* "There is neither king, nor sovereign lord on earth, who has beyond his own domain, power to lay one farthing on the subjects, without the grant and consent of those who pay it; unless he does it by tyranny and violence."

(*Philippe de Commines, chap. 108.*)

following purpose: "That they always had, so they always should, think it their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner." I went soon after to England, and took with me an authentic copy of this resolution, which I presented to Mr. Grenville before he brought in the Stamp Act. I asserted in the house of commons (Mr. Grenville being present) that I had done so, and he did not deny it. Other colonies made similar resolutions. And had Mr. Grenville, instead of that act, applied to the king in council for such requisitional letters to be circulated by the secretary of state, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies by their voluntary grants, than he himself expected from his stamps. But he chose compulsion rather than persuasion, and would not receive from their good-will what he thought he could obtain without it. And thus the golden bridge which the ingenious author thinks the Americans unwisely and unbecomingly refused to hold out to the minister and parliament, was actually held out to them, but they refused to walk over it. This is the true history of that transaction; and as it is probable there may be another edition of that excellent pamphlet, I wish this may be communicated to the candid author, who I doubt not will correct that error.

I am ever, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Dr. Franklin strenuously exerted himself to free America from this odious tax; the principal objection to which was, that it was imposed by a *British parliament*, which the Americans asserted had no right to tax them. Dr. Franklin thus expresses his sentiments on the subject, in a letter to a friend dated London, January 6, 1766:

"In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the Stamp Act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for parliament, restore

at once their antient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it hence; the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not now be agreed to, from what I now think a mistaken opinion, that the honor and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is, the *suspension*. For as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole."

Contrary to Dr. Franklin's surmise, shortly after the date of this letter, it began to appear expedient to the administration, then under the marquis of Rockingham, to endeavor to calm the minds of the colonists; and *the repeal of the Stamp Tax* was contemplated. Amongst other means of collecting information on the disposition of the people to submit to it, Dr. Franklin was (Feb. 3, 1766,) "ordered to attend the committee of the whole house of commons, to whom it was referred to consider further the several papers relative to America, which were presented to the house by Mr. Secretary Conway, &c."† It contains a striking account of the extent and accuracy of Dr. Franklin's information, and the facility and manliness with which he communicated his sentiments. He represented facts in so strong a point of view, that the inexpediency of the act must have appeared clear to every unprejudiced mind.

Feb. 24. The resolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller; their *seventh* and last resolu-

† See Vol. IV. of this edition, page 109.

tion setting forth, "that it was their opinion that the house be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to *repeal the Stamp Act.*" A proposal for re-committing this resolution, was negatived by two hundred and forty votes to one hundred and thirty-three: and the act, after some opposition, was repealed about a year after it was enacted, and before it had ever been carried into execution.¹

¹ A ludicrous caricature was published on this occasion, of which the following description was given, annexed thereto :

"*An Account of a humorous political Print, called The Repeal; which (in the Painters' phrase) may be called A Companion to the Tomb-stone, a Print not long since published.*

"The subject of this print is *the Funeral of Miss AME STAMP*, the favorite child and youngest daughter of the honorable Mr. *George Stamp*,¹ the well-known *Gentle Shepherd*. At one end of the print stands the *Family Vault*, with a mutilated inscription, signifying that 'within it lie (it is to be hoped never to rise again) the remains of Hearth Mon**, Ship Mon**, Excise B***, Jew B***, Gen*** Warrants, &c.' On the top of the vault are two heads on poles, like those on *Temple Bar*, marked on the skull with the numbers 1715 and 1745.² The vault is supposed to be situated on the side of the river, along the Strand of which the funeral procession proceeds. The *Reverend* Mr. *ANTI-SEJANUS*,³ that noted *Constitutionalist*, drawn to the life, appears first, reading the burial service: after him follow those two eminent pillars of the law, sir *Bullface Doublefee*⁴ and Mr. *Alexander Scotsburn*,⁵ supporting two black flags; on which are delineated the Stamps, with the *white rose* and *thistle* interweaved, with the old motto of *Semper eadem*; to which is annexed a new motto, consisting of those significant words, *Three Farthings* taken from the *budget*. Beneath this motto, as if meant to certify the number of the despicable *minority* fighting under these banners, appear on one flag the figures 71, and on the other 122, with a flying label surrounding both, bearing these words, *All of a STAMP*. Next appears the *sad father* of the deceased child, the honorable Mr. *George Stamp* himself, with grief and despair pictured on his countenance, carrying in his arms the infant's coffin, on which is written '*Miss AME STAMP, born 1765, died 1766.*' Immediately after follows the chief mourner, *Sejanus*: then his Grace of *Spitalfields*⁶ and Lord

¹ The Right Honorable George Grenville, author of the Stamp Act.

² Years of rebellion.

³ Mr. Scott.

⁴ Sir Fletcher Norton.

⁵ Mr. Alexander Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Loughborough.)

⁶ (Perhaps) the Duke of Bedford.

Dr. Franklin about this period, in addition to his agency for Pennsylvania, received the separate appointments of agent for the respective colonies of New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts. All of which he continued to fill with equal credit to himself and advantage to his constituents, during his stay in England.

In the course of this year (1766) he visited Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention and respect from men of science in those countries. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the watermen the effect which a diminution of the quantity of water in canals has, in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England he was induced to make a number of experiments, which tended to confirm the observation. These, with an explanation of the phenomenon, he communicated in a letter to his friend sir John Pringle, which will be found among his philosophical writings.

Gawkee:¹ after these *Jemmy Twitcher*,² with a catch by way of funeral anthem; and by his side his friend and partner Mr. *Falconer Donaldson of Halifax*. At a little distance, to close the procession, are two worthy B****ps, Dr. *Squirt*, and another right reverend gentleman, who shall be nameless: and behind them lie, on this side of the river, two huge bales of returned commodities, one marked *Stamps from America*, the other *Black Cloth from America*.

"These few mourners are separated from the joyful scene that appears in the back ground, by the River *Thames*, in which are riding three first-rate ships, called, The *ROCKINGHAM*,³ The *GRAFTON*,⁴ and The *CONWAY*.⁵ Along the shore stand open warehouses for the several goods of our principal manufacturing towns, from which cargoes are now shipping for *America*: among these is a large case, containing a statue of Mr. *PITT*, which is heaving on board a boat number 250; and there is another boat taking in goods, nearer the first-rates, which is numbered 105; numbers which will ever remain sacred to liberty, and render the memory of the triumphant MAJORITY, on this side of the river, revered by our latest posterity."

¹ (Perhaps) Lord Gower.

² Lord Sandwich.

³ The Mar-

quis of Rockingham.

⁴ The Duke of Grafton.

⁵ Mr. Secre-

tary Conway.

In the following year, as also in 1769, he visited Paris, where he was no less favorably received than he had been in Germany. He was introduced to the king (Louis XV.) and his sisters *Mesdames de France*, and particularly distinguished by them: as he was also by the Academy of Sciences (of which he was afterwards elected a foreign associate,^r) and many other scientific and literary characters.

Mons. Dubourg, a member of the same academy undertook a French translation of Dr. Franklin's letters on his Discoveries in Electricity, and the third English edition of the same work was now published in London. With respect to the general merit and originality of the experiments and hypotheses of Dr. Franklin, as described and explained in these letters, that eminent natural philosopher, the late Dr. Priestly, bears the following testimony in his "*History of Electricity.*"

"Nothing was ever written upon the subject of electricity, which was more generally read and admired in all parts of Europe than these letters. There is hardly any European language into which they have not been translated; and, as if this were not sufficient to make them properly known, a translation of them has lately been made into Latin. It is not easy to say, whether we are most pleased with the simplicity and perspicuity with which these letters are written, the modesty with which the author proposes every hypothesis of his own, or the noble frankness with which he relates his mistakes, when they were corrected by subsequent experiments.

"Though the English have not been backward in acknowledging the great merit of this philosopher, he has had the singular good fortune to be, perhaps, even more celebrated abroad than at home; so that, to form a just idea of the great and deserved reputation of Dr. Franklin, we must read the foreign publications on the subject of electricity; in many of which the terms *Franklinism*, *Franklinist*, and the

^r See *Postscript* of letter to governor Franklin, August 22, 1772.

Franklinian system, occur in almost every page. In consequence of this, Dr. Franklin's principles bid fair to be handed down to posterity as equally expressive of the true principles of electricity, as the Newtonian philosophy is of the true system of nature in general."

As Dr. Franklin has only mentioned his electrical discoveries in a very transient way, in the former part of these memoirs, and as they are of a most important and interesting nature, it has been thought a short digression on the subject would be excusable, and not void of entertainment. For this purpose the following account of the same, including the first experiment of the *Lightning Kite*, as given by Dr. Stuber, is here given.

"Dr. Franklin engaged in a course of electrical experiments, with all the ardor and thirst for discovery which characterized the philosophers of that day. Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, *Electricity* had been least explored. The attractive power of amber is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, and, from them, by later naturalists. In the year 1600, Gilbert, an English physician, enlarged considerably the catalogue of substances which have the property of attracting light bodies. Boyle, Otto Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg, (celebrated as the inventor of the air pump,) Dr. Wall, and sir Isaac Newton, added some facts. Guericke first observed the repulsive power of electricity, and the light and noise produced by it. In 1709, Hawkesbee communicated some important observations and experiments to the world. For several years electricity was entirely neglected, until Mr. Grey applied himself to it, in 1728, with great assiduity. He and his friend Mr. Wheeler, made a great variety of experiments; in which they demonstrated, that electricity may be communicated from one body to another, even without being in contact, and in this way may be conducted to a great distance. Mr. Grey afterwards found, that by suspending rods of iron by silk or hair lines, and bringing an excited tube under them, sparks might be drawn, and a light perceived at the extremities in the dark. M. Du Faye, intendant of the

French king's gardens, made a number of experiments, which added not a little to the science. He made the discovery of two kinds of electricity, which he called *vitreous* and *resinous*; the former produced by rubbing glass, the latter from excited sulphur, sealing-wax, &c. But this idea he afterwards gave up as erroneous. Between the years 1739 and 1742, Desaguliers made a number of experiments, but added little of importance. He first used the terms *conductors* and *electrics*, *per se*. 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject. Of these the principal were, professor Boze of Wittemberg, professor Winkler of Leipsic, Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt, and Dr. Ludolf of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the philosophers of Europe. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of electricity, and thus to produce phenomena which had been hitherto unobserved. They killed small birds, and set spirits on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Collinson, about the year 1745, sent to the library company of Philadelphia an account of these experiments, together with a tube, and directions how to use it. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately engaged in a course of experiments; the result of which is well known. He was enabled to make a number of important *discoveries*, and to propose theories to account for various phenomena; which have been universally adopted, and which bid fair to endure for ages. His observations he communicated, in a series of letters, to his friend Collinson; the first of which is dated March 28, 1747. In these he makes known the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had hitherto escaped the notice of electricians. He also made the grand discovery of a *plus* and *minus*, or of a *positive* and *negative* state of electricity. We give him the honor of this, without hesitation; although the English have claimed it for their countryman Dr. Watson. Watson's paper is dated Jan. 21, 1748; Franklin's, July 11, 1747; several months prior. Shortly after, Franklin, from his principles of *plus* and *minus*

state, explained, in a satisfactory manner, the phenomena of the Leyden phial, first observed by Mr. Cuneus, or by professor Muschenbroeck of Leyden, which had much perplexed philosophers. He showed clearly that the bottle, when charged, contained no more electricity than before, but that as much was taken from one side as was thrown on the other; and that to discharge it, nothing was necessary but to make a communication between the two sides, by which the equilibrium might be restored, and that then no signs of electricity would remain. He afterwards demonstrated by experiments, that the electricity did not reside in the coating, as had been supposed, but in the pores of the glass itself. After a phial was charged, he removed the coating, and found that upon applying a new coating the shock might still be received. In the year 1749, he first suggested his idea of explaining the phenomena of thunder-gusts and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles. He points out many particulars in which lightning and electricity agree; and he adduces many facts, and reasonings from facts, in support of his positions. In the same year he conceived the astonishingly bold and grand idea of ascertaining the truth of his doctrine, by actually drawing down the forked lightning, by means of sharp-pointed iron rods raised into the region of the clouds. Even in this uncertain state, his passion to be useful to mankind displays itself in a powerful manner. *Admitting the identity of electricity and lightning*, and knowing the power of points in repelling bodies charged with electricity, and in conducting their fire silently and imperceptibly, he suggests the idea of securing houses, ships, &c., from being damaged by lightning, by erecting pointed iron rods, which should rise some feet above the most elevated part, and descend some feet into the ground or the water. The effect of these, he concluded, would be either to prevent a stroke by repelling the cloud beyond the striking distance, or by drawing off the electrical fire which it contained; or, if they could not effect this, they would at least conduct the stroke to the earth, without any injury to the building.

“ It was not until the summer of 1752, that he was enabled to complete his grand and unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he had originally proposed, was, to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a sentry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this, would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when a key, a knuckle, or other conductor was presented to it. Philadelphia at this time afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. Whilst Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him, that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by attaching two cross sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To his upright stick was affixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the commons, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shed to avoid the rain. His kite was raised. A thunder-cloud passed over it. No sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success; when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment! On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he succeeded, his name would rank high amongst those who have improved science; if he failed, he must inevitably be subjected to the derision of mankind, or what is worse, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, silly projector. The anxiety with which he looked for the result of his experiment, may be easily conceived. Doubts

and despair had begun to prevail, when the fact was ascertained in so clear a manner, that even the most incredulous could no longer withhold their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made, which are usually performed with electricity.

“About a month before this period, some ingenious Frenchmen had completed the discovery in the manner originally proposed by Dr. Franklin. The letters which he sent to Mr. Collinson, it is said, were refused a place amongst the papers of the Royal Society of London. However this may be, Collinson published them in a separate volume, under the title of, *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia, in America*. They were read with avidity, and soon translated into different languages. A very incorrect French translation fell into the hands of the celebrated Buffon, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the work labored, was much pleased with it, and repeated the experiments with success. He prevailed upon his friend, M. D’Alibard, to give to his countrymen a more correct translation of the work of the American electrician. This contributed much towards spreading a knowledge of Franklin’s principles in France. The king, Louis XV. hearing of these experiments, expressed a wish to be a spectator of them. A course of experiments was given at the seat of the Duc D’Ayen, at St. Germain, by M. De Lor. The applauses which the king bestowed upon Franklin, excited in Buffon, D’Alibard, and De Lor, an earnest desire of ascertaining the truth of his theory of thunder-gusts. Buffon erected his apparatus on the tower of Montbar, M. D’Alibard at Marly-la-ville, and De Lor at his house in the *Estrapade* at Paris, some of the highest ground in that capital. D’Alibard’s machine first showed signs of electricity. On the 10th of May, 1752, a thunder-cloud passed over it, in the absence of M. D’Alibard; and a number of sparks were drawn from it by Coiffier, a joiner, with whom D’Alibard had left directions how to proceed, and by M. Raulet, the prior of Marly-la-ville. An account of

this experiment was given to the royal academy of sciences, in a memoir by M. D'Alibard, dated May 13, 1752. On the 16th of May, M. De Lor proved equally successful with the apparatus erected at his own house. These discoveries soon excited the philosophers of other parts of Europe to repeat the experiment. Amongst these, none signalized himself more than father Beccaria of Turin, to whose observations science is much indebted. Even the cold regions of Russia were penetrated by the ardor for discovery. Professor Richmann bade fair to add much to the stock of knowlege on this subject, when an unfortunate flash from his rod put a period to his existence. The friends of science will long remember with regret the amiable martyr to electricity.

“By these experiments Franklin's theory was established in the most firm manner. When the truth of it could no longer be doubted, the vanity of men endeavored to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obscure city of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, should be able to make discoveries, and to frame theories, which had escaped the notice of the enlightened philosophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He must certainly have taken the idea from some one else. An American, a being of an inferior order, make discoveries! Impossible. It was said, that the abbe Nollet, in 1748, had suggested the idea of the similarity of lightning and electricity, in his *Leçons de Physique*. It is true that the abbé mentions the idea; but he throws it out as a bare conjecture, and proposes no mode of ascertaining the truth of it. He himself acknowledges, that Franklin *first* entertained the bold thought of bringing lightning from the heavens, by means of pointed rods fixed in the air. The similarity of electricity and lightning is so strong, that we need not be surprised at notice being taken of it, as soon as electrical phenomena became familiar. We find it mentioned by Dr. Wall and Mr. Grey, while the science was in its infancy. But the honor of forming a regular theory of thunder-gusts, of suggesting a mode of determining the truth of it by experiments, and of putting these

experiments in practice, and thus establishing his theory upon a firm and solid basis, is incontestibly due to Franklin. D'Alibard, who made the first experiments in France, says, that he only followed the track which Franklin had pointed out.

“It has been of late asserted, that the honor of completing the experiment with the electrical kite, does not belong to Franklin. Some late English paragraphs have attributed it to some Frenchman, whose name they do not mention; and the abbé Bertholon gives it to M. de Romas, assessor to the presideal of Nérac; the English paragraphs probably refer to the same person. But a very slight attention will convince us of the injustice of this procedure. Dr. Franklin's experiment was made in June, 1752; and his letter, giving an account of it, is dated October 19, 1752. M. De Romas made his first attempt on the 14th of May, 1753, but was not successful until the 7th of June; *a year after Franklin had completed the discovery*, and when it was known to all the philosophers in Europe.

“Besides these great principles, Franklin's letters on electricity contain a number of facts and hints, which have contributed greatly towards reducing this branch of knowledge to a science. His friend, Mr. Kinnersley, communicated to him a discovery of the different kinds of electricity excited by rubbing glass and sulphur. This we have said, was first observed by M. Du Faye; but it was for many years neglected. The philosophers were disposed to account for the phenomena, rather from a difference in the quantity of electricity collected; and even Du Faye himself seems at last to have adopted this doctrine. Franklin at first entertained the same idea; but upon repeating the experiments, he perceived that Mr. Kinnersley was right; and that the *vitreous* and *resinous* electricity of Du Faye were nothing more than the *positive* and *negative* states which he had before observed; that the glass globe charged *positively*, or increased the quantity of electricity on the prime conductor, whilst the globe of sulphur diminished its

natural quantity, or charged *negatively*. These experiments and observations opened a new field for investigation, upon which electricians entered with avidity; and their labors have added much to the stock of our knowlege.

“In September, 1752, Franklin entered upon a course of experiments, to determine the state of electricity in the clouds. From a number of experiments he formed this conclusion: “that the clouds of a thunder-gust are most commonly in a negative state of electricity, but sometimes in a positive state;” and from this it follows, as a necessary consequence, “that, for the most part, in thunder-strokes, it is the earth that strikes into the clouds, and not the clouds that strike into the earth.” The letter containing these observations is dated in September, 1753; and yet the discovery of ascending thunder has been said to be of a modern date, and has been attributed to the abbé Bertholon, who published his memoir on the subject in 1776.

“Franklin’s letters on electricity, have been translated into most of the European languages, and into Latin. In proportion as they have become known, his principles have been adopted. Some opposition was made to his theories, particularly by the abbé Nollet, who was, however, but feebly supported, whilst the first philosophers of Europe stepped forth in defence of Franklin’s principles; amongst whom D’Alibard and Beccaria were the most distinguished. The opposition has gradually ceased, and the Franklinian system is now universally adopted, where science flourishes.

“The important practical use which Franklin made of his discoveries, the securing of houses from injury by lightning, has been already mentioned. Pointed conductors are now very common in America; but prejudice has hitherto prevented their general introduction into Europe, notwithstanding the most undoubted proofs of their utility have been given. But mankind can with difficulty be brought to lay aside established practices, or to adopt new ones. And perhaps we have more reason to be surprised that a practice, however rational, which was proposed about forty years ago, should in that time

have been adopted in so many places, than that it has not universally prevailed. It is only by degrees that the great body of mankind can be led into new practices, however salutary their tendency. It is now nearly eighty years since inoculation was introduced into Europe and America; and it is so far from being general at present, that it will, perhaps, require one or two centuries to render it so.”^s

To revert to Dr. Franklin's political transactions. His exertions and examination before the house of commons, having greatly contributed to the repeal of the *Stamp Act*; he now turned his attention towards obtaining the repeal of the *Act restraining the legal tender of paper money in the colonies*; another grievance they complained of. The ministry had at one time agreed to the repeal; not so much to serve the colonies, as from the impression that they might raise a revenue from paper money lent on mortgage, by the parliament appropriating the *interest* arising therefrom. This notion was however removed, by Dr. Franklin's assuring them, that no colony would issue money on those terms, and that the advantage arising to the commerce of Great Britain in America, from a plentiful currency, would thereby be lost, and the repeal answer no end, if the assemblies were not allowed to appropriate the interest themselves. The measure was afterwards dropt, and the restraint unwisely continued.

As early as the period of these discussions between Great Britain and her colonies, the French government appear to have begun to take an interest in their affairs. The circumstance is thus alluded to in a letter of Dr. Franklin to his son, dated London, Aug. 28, 1767.

“De Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home, and Mons. Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the

* The same probably will also be the case with respect to the *Vaccine Inoculation*: though undoubtedly its progress has hitherto been more rapid.

abilities shown in my examination: has desired to have all my political writings; invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on this occasion, and blow up the coals between Great Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity."

Dr. Franklin was right in his conjectures, but his hopes were not realized; the *opportunity* was given, and they availed themselves of it,—eminently contributing to the separation of the two countries.

Certain resolutions of the town of Boston, respecting trade and manufactures, arrived in London about the commencement of the year 1768, and occasioned a considerable clamor; they gave Dr. Franklin and the friends of America great concern: he endeavored by every means to palliate the affair by various writings in the newspapers; and the discontents of the British colonies being much the subject of general discussion at the time, and greatly misunderstood, he, with a view to elucidate the same, and soften the prevalent animosity against America, wrote and published (in the Chronicle of January 7th,) a piece signed F—S. intitled "*Causes of the American discontents before 1768,*" with this inscription: "*The waves never rise but when the winds blow.*" Prov.

This short tract, together with his "*Answer* (in Nov. 1769,) *to the queries of Mr. Strahan,*" (which were probably made under the dictation of administration,) give the best account of the then existing complaints of the colonies, and (from their not being attended to,) of the *primitive cause* of the disputes, that produced civil war, and terminated in their separation from Great Britain.[†] These papers, interesting for the historian, form in some degree, a complement to these

[†] See also a letter of Dr. Franklin's, *On the rise and progress of the differences between Great Britain and her American colonies*: signed "*A well-wisher to the king and all his dominions,*" and addressed to the printer of the Public Advertiser. Private Correspondence, Vol. VI. page 349.

memoirs; and constitute sufficient proofs of Dr. Franklin's candor and foresight.

At this time a change of ministry took place, in which the American business was taken from lord Shelburne, and given to lord Hillsborough, as *secretary of state for America*, a new distinct apartment. There was a talk at the time of getting Dr. Franklin appointed under secretary of state for that department; but it fell through, he being considered too much of an American.

Lord Hillsborough had formerly, at sundry times, discoursed with Dr. Franklin on the subject of the restraining act, relative to paper-money: the latter now waited on the new minister, in order again to press the repeal of the same; but he found he had not altered in the sentiments concerning it, which he entertained when at the head of the board of trade, and which still continued adverse to it.

Dr. Franklin took this opportunity of conversing with his lordship concerning the particular affair with which he was charged by his Pennsylvania constituents, relative to the change of government in that province; giving him a detail of all the proceedings hitherto, the delays it had experienced, and its present situation. He promised him he would inquire into the matter, and would talk with him further upon it: his lordship expressed great satisfaction at the good disposition that he said appeared now to be general in America, with regard to the British government, according to his last advices; and added, that he had by his majesty's order, written the most healing letters to the several governors, which if shown to the assemblies, as he supposed they would be, could not but confirm that good disposition.

These expectations were not however realized: the Americans began to be sensible of their own consequence, and the inhabitants of Boston, at a public meeting on the 27th October, 1767, entered into a variety of resolutions for encouraging manufactures, promoting economy, and restraining the use of foreign superfluities. These resolutions, all of which were highly prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain, con-

tained a long list of articles which it was either determined not to use at all, or at least in the smallest possible quantities. A subscription was opened at the same time, and a committee appointed, for the increase of their old manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. Among other things it was determined to give particular encouragement to the making of paper, glass, and other commodities that were liable to the payment of the new duties upon importation. It was also resolved to restrain the expense of funerals, to reduce dress to a degree of primitive simplicity and plainness, and in general not to purchase any commodities from the mother country that could be procured in any of the colonies.

All these resolutions were either adopted, or similar ones entered into, by most if not all the other colonies on the continent.

Though the colonies never pretended an exemption from contributing to the common expenses necessary to the prosperity of the empire, they continued to assert that having parliaments of their own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, their own parliaments were the only proper judges of what they could and ought to contribute in this case; and that the English parliament had no right to take their money without their consent. They considered the British empire not as a single state, but as comprehending many; and though the parliament of Great Britain had arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it had no more right to do so, than it had to tax Hanover: both countries had the same king, but not the same legislatures. The Americans conceiving their rights thus established, were determined to maintain them; and they accordingly opposed to the acts of a venal court, resolved to subjugate them to its authority, that calm, steady perseverance, worthy of men who were determined to be free.

In 1772, lord Hillsborough gave in his resignation, occasioned, as was supposed, from some mortification he had experienced, or the evident dislike of the king to his administration, which he conceived had tended to weaken the affec-

tion and respect of the colonies for a royal government—a sentiment which Dr. Franklin had taken every proper means to encourage, by the communication of suitable information and convincing proofs derived from America. But the doctor was not only instrumental in the dismissal of this minister, but perhaps in the appointment of his successor: for complaining of lord Hillsborough one day at court, to a person of considerable influence, that person told him, that the Americans were represented by his lordship as an unquiet people, not easily satisfied with any ministry; that however it was thought too much occasion had been given them to dislike the present; and he asked him, whether, in case he should be removed, he could name another likely to be more acceptable to the colonies? Dr. Franklin instantly replied, “Yes, there is *lord Dartmouth*—we liked him very well when he was at the head of the board formerly, and in all probability should again.” This was probably reported: what influence it may have had is uncertain; but shortly after lord Dartmouth was actually appointed to succeed lord Hillsborough, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of America.

Dr. Franklin, it appears, had about this time a strong inclination to return to America, though well pleased with his residence in England, where, as he writes to his son, “Nothing can be more agreeable than my situation, more especially as I hope for less embarrassment from the new administration. A general respect paid me by the learned, a number of friends and acquaintance among them, with whom I have a pleasing intercourse; a character of so much weight, that it has protected me when some in power would have done me injury, and continued me in an office^a they would have deprived me of; my company so much desired, that I seldom dine at home in winter, and could spend the whole summer in the country-houses of inviting friends if I chose it. Learned and ingenious foreigners that come to England, almost all make a point of visiting me (for my reputation is still higher

^a Deputy postmaster-general of America.

abroad than here); several of the foreign ambassadors have assiduously cultivated my acquaintance, treating me as one of their *corps*, partly I believe from the desire they have from time to time of hearing something of American affairs, an object become of importance in foreign courts, who begin to hope Britain's alarming power will be diminished by the defection of her colonies; and partly, that they may have an opportunity of introducing me to the gentlemen of their country who desire it. The king too has lately been heard to speak of me with regard. These are flattering circumstances; but a violent longing for home sometimes seizes me, which I can no otherwise subdue, but by promising myself a return next spring, or next autumn, and so forth. As to returning hither, if I once go back, I have no thoughts of it. I am too far advanced in life to propose three voyages more.* I have some important affairs to settle at home, and considering my double expenses here and there, I hardly think my salaries fully compensate the disadvantages. The late change, however, (of the American minister) being thrown into the balance, determines me to stay another winter."

Lord Dartmouth had heretofore expressed great personal regard for Dr. Franklin, who now found himself upon very good terms with this new minister.

As an explanatory introduction to a transaction of much interest and importance in the annals of Dr. Franklin, which made a considerable noise at this time, (1773-4.) and which has not hitherto been satisfactorily developed to the public, it may be proper to revert a few years back to the history of the colony of Massachusetts; for which purpose the following short sketch, from an unknown hand, is submitted.

* Notwithstanding, after Dr. Franklin's return to America, in the spring of 1775, the welfare of his country again induced him to cross the Atlantic in 1776, and undertake, at the age of seventy-one, infirm, and exposed to be captured by the enemy, a winter's voyage, to France; whence he had again to cross the Atlantic in his return home, in 1785, being then in his eightieth year.

“From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favor of America in the year 1769, the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767, together with the renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and her colonies, many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favor that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony which had begun elsewhere to return. The stationing a military force among them was a permanent source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both houses of parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as factious turbulent citizens, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain; they on the other hand were accustomed to look upon the soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties. Mutual insults and provocations were the consequence.

“On the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, a tumult between the town's-people, and a party of the soldiers, took place. In this, the latter fired on the former, and killed several of them. Moderate men interposed, and prevented a general carnage. The events of this tragical night, sunk deep, in the minds of the citizens. The anniversary of it, was observed with great solemnity. Their ablest speakers, were successively employed, to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it, fresh in their minds. On these occasions, the blessings of liberty—the horrors of slavery—and a variety of such popular topics, were displayed in elegant language, and presented to the public view, in their most pleasing, or most hideous forms.

“The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased by making the judges in Massachusetts independent of the province. Formerly they

had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly; but from the year 1772, Peter Oliver, the chief justice of the superior court, received his salary from the crown. This was resented by the assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations in favor of the mother country. They made it the foundation of an impeachment; but this produced no other consequence than a dissolution of the assembly which prosecuted the uncourtly measure.

“A personal animosity between governor Bernard, lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, though elsewhere it had visibly abated. This was worked up in the year 1773 to a high pitch by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written in the course of the dispute by lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, Mr. Oliver, and others in Boston, to persons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavorable representation of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of provincial government. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to his constituents. The indignation and animosity which was excited on their perusal, knew no bounds. The house of representatives agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trust, and of the people they governed; and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places.

“This petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, the merits of it were discussed before his majesty’s privy council. After a hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant-governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburn, (afterwards lord Loughborough,) who defended the

accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin in the bitterest language, as the fomentor of the disputes between the two countries. **R** was no protection to this venerable sage, that being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his *duty* to inform his constituents of letters written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectable character, and highly literary rank of the subject of the philippic of—‘*The pert, prim, prater of the northern race,*’ (as the satiric poet *Churchill* designates *Wedderburn*,) turned the attention of the public on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one who was both the idol and ornament of his country, sunk deep into the minds of the Americans: that a faithful servant, whom they loved and almost adored, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts.”^w

Dr. Franklin told Mr. Lee, one of his counsel, after the business was concluded, that he was indifferent to Mr. Wedderburn’s speech, but that he was indeed sincerely sorry to see the lords of council behave so indecently; manifesting, in the rudest manner, the great pleasure they received from the solicitor’s speech; that *dernier* court, he said, before whom all the colony affairs were tried, was not likely to act in a candid and impartial manner upon any future American question. They showed, he added, that the coarsest language can be grateful to the politest ear.

The following short statement of Dr. Franklin’s behaviour before the privy council, from the pen of Dr. Priestly, (who was present) may not be deemed uninteresting.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Priestly, dated Northumberland, *United States*, Nov. 10, 1802.

“I shall proceed to relate some particulars respecting Dr. Franklin’s behavior, when lord Loughborough, (then Mr. Wedderburn, pronounced his violent invective against him at

^w See the Examinations, vol. IV. p. 109, of this edition.

the privy council, on his presenting the complaints of the province of Massachusetts against their governor. Some of the particulars may be thought amusing.

“On the morning of the day on which the cause was to be heard, I met Mr. Burke, in Parliament street, accompanied by Dr. Douglas, afterwards bishop of Carlisle; and after introducing us to each other as men of letters, he asked me whither I was going? I said I could tell him where I *wished* to go. He then asking me where it was, I said to the privy-council, but that I was afraid I could not get admission. He then desired me to go along with him. Accordingly I did; but when we got into the anti-room, we found it quite filled with persons as desirous of getting admission as ourselves. Seeing this, I said we should never get through the crowd. He said, “give me your arm;” and locking it fast in his, he soon made his way to the door of the privy-council. I then said, “Mr. Burke, you are an excellent leader:” he replied, “I wish other persons thought so too.”

After waiting a short time, the door of the privy-council opened, and we entered the first, when Mr. Burke took his stand behind the first chair next to the president, and I behind that the next to his. When the business was opened, it was sufficiently evident, from the speech of Mr. Wedderburn, who was counsel for the governor, that the real object of the court was to insult Dr. Franklin. All this time he stood in a corner^x of the room, not far from me, without the least apparent emotion.

Mr. Dunning, who was the leading counsel on the part of the colony, was so hoarse, that he could hardly make himself heard; and Mr. Lee, who was the second, spoke but feebly in reply; so that Mr. Wedderburn had a complete triumph. At the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself (lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright. No person belonging to the

^x *Error*. He stood close to the fire, and in front of the council-table.

council behaved with decent gravity, except lord North, who, coming late, took his stand behind the chair opposite to me.

When the business was over, Dr. Franklin, in going out, took me by the hand, in a manner that indicated some feeling. I soon followed him, and going through the anti-room, saw Mr. Wedderburn there, surrounded with a circle of his friends and admirers. Being known to him, he stepped forwards as if to speak to me; but I turned aside, and made what haste I could out of the place.

The next morning I breakfasted with the doctor, when he said, "he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it." He was accused of clandestinely procuring certain letters, containing complaints of the governor, and sending them to America, with a view to excite their animosity against him, and thus to embroil the two countries. But he assured me, that he did not even know that such letters existed, till they were brought to him as *agent for the colony*, in order to be sent to his constituents; and the cover of the letters on which the direction had been written, being lost, he only guessed at the person to whom they were addressed, by the contents.

That Dr. Franklin, notwithstanding he did not show it at the time, was much impressed by the business of the privy-council, appeared from this circumstance: when he attended there, he was dressed in a suit of Manchester velvet; and Silas Deane told me, when they met at Paris, to sign the treaty between France and America, he purposely put on that suit.

The publication of the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, by the legislature of Massachusetts, and the transmission of attested copies of the same, with their address, eventually produced a duel between Mr. William Whately, (brother of the deceased Mr. Thomas Whately, secretary to the treasury,

to whom the letters were originally addressed, and in whose possession they were supposed to have been at the time of his death, in 1772,) and Mr. John Temple,^x of Boston, New England; each of whom had been suspected of having been instrumental in procuring the letters, and sending them to America. This tragical event, which Dr. Franklin could not foresee, nor had an opportunity of preventing, was maliciously made use of by his enemies to cast an odium on his character.

The following account of the whole of this mysterious affair is taken from a manuscript in Dr. Franklin's own hand-writing, found among his papers; evidently drawn up with a view to justify his conduct with respect to those famous letters, and the unfortunate event that resulted therefrom, and probably with the intent of inserting it in his memoirs, had he continued them to that period of his life. For these reasons the editor conceives it his duty to embody it with the present work, as well for the justification of his illustrious relative, as an historical document respecting a transaction important in the American annals, and which has never before been thoroughly elucidated.

Dr. Franklin may be considered as thus again continuing his own memoirs.

HAVING been from my youth more or less engaged in public affairs, it has often happened to me in the course of my life, to be censured sharply for the part I took in them. Such censures I have generally passed over in silence, conceiving, when they were just, that I ought rather to amend than defend; and when they were undeserved, that a little time would justify me. Much experience has confirmed my

^x Afterwards sir John Temple, and for several years British consul in the United States.

opinion of the propriety of this conduct ; for notwithstanding the frequent, and sometimes the virulent, attacks which the jostlings of party interests have drawn upon me, I have had the felicity of bringing down to a good old age as fair a reputation (may I be permitted to say it) as most public men that I have known, and have never had reason to repent my neglecting to defend it.

I should therefore (persisting as old men ought to do in old habits) have taken no notice of the late invective of the solicitor-general, nor of the abundant abuse in the papers, were I not urged to it by my friends, who say, that the first being delivered by a public officer of government, before a high and most respectable court, the privy council, and countenanced by its report, and the latter having that for its foundation, it behoves me, more especially as I am about leaving this country, to furnish them with the knowledge of such facts as may enable them to justify to others their good opinion of me. This compels me to the present undertaking; for otherwise, having, for some time past, been gradually losing all public connexions, declining my agencies, determining on retiring to my little family, that I might enjoy the remainder of life in private repose, indifferent to the opinion of courtiers, as having nothing to seek or wish among them, and being secure, that time would soon lay the dust which prejudice and party have so lately raised, I should not think of giving myself the trouble of writing, and my friends of reading, an apology for my political conduct.

That this conduct may be better understood, and its consistency more apparent, it seems necessary that I should first explain the principles on which I have acted. It has long appeared to me that the only true British policy was that which aimed at the good of the *whole British empire*, not that which sought the advantage of *one part* in the disadvantage of the others: therefore all measures of procuring gain to the mother country arising from loss to her colonies, and all of gain to the colonies, arising from or occasioning loss to Britain, especially where the gain was

small and the loss great, every abridgment of the power of the mother country, where that power was not prejudicial to the liberties of the colonists, and every diminution of the privileges of the colonists, where they were not prejudicial to the welfare of the mother country, I, in my own mind, condemned as improper, partial, unjust, and mischievous; tending to create dissensions, and weaken that union, on which the strength, solidity, and duration of the empire greatly depended; and I opposed, as far as my little powers went, all proceedings either here or in America, that in my opinion had such tendency. Hence it has often happened to me, that while I have been thought here too much of an American, I have in America been deemed too much of an Englishman.

From a thorough inquiry (on occasion of the stamp act) into the nature of the connection between Britain and the colonies, I became convinced, that the bond of their union is not the parliament but the king. That in removing to America, a country out of the realm, they did not carry with them the statutes then existing; for if they did, the Puritans must have been subject *there* to the same grievous act of conformity, tithes, spiritual courts, &c., which they meant to be free from by going thither; and in vain would they have left their native country, and all the conveniences and comforts of its improved state, to combat the hardships of a new settlement in a distant wilderness, if they had taken with them what they meant to fly from, or if they had left a power behind them capable of sending the same chains after them, to bind them in America. They took with them, however, by compact, their allegiance to the king, and a legislative power for the making a new body of laws with his assent, by which they were to be governed. Hence they became distinct states, under the same prince, united as Ireland is to the *crown*, but not to the *realm* of England, and governed each by *its* own laws, though with the same sovereign, and having each the right of granting its own money to that sovereign.

At the same time, I considered the king's supreme authority over all the colonies, as of the greatest importance to them, affording a *dernier resort* for settling all their disputes, a means of preserving peace among them with each other, and a centre in which their common force might be united against a common enemy: this authority, I therefore thought, when acting within its due limits, should be ever as carefully supported by the colonists as by the inhabitants of Britain.

In conformity with these principles, and as agent for the colonies, I opposed the stamp act, and endeavored to obtain its repeal, as an infringement of the rights of the colonists, of no real advantage to Britain, since she might ever be sure of greater aids from our voluntary grants, than she could expect from arbitrary taxes, as by losing our respect and affection, on which much of her commerce with us depended, she would lose more in that commerce than she could possibly gain by such taxes, and as it was detrimental to the harmony which had till then so happily subsisted, and which was so essential to the welfare of the whole. And to keep up as much as in me lay, a reverence for the king, and a respect for the British nation on that side of the water, and on this, some regard for the colonies (both tending to promote that harmony,) I industriously on all occasions, in my letters to America, represented the measures that were grievous to them, as being neither *royal* nor *national* measures, but the schemes of an administration, which wished to recommend itself for its ingenuity in finance, or to avail itself of new revenues in creating, by places and pensions, new dependencies; for that the king was a good and gracious prince, and the people of Britain their real friends. And on this side the water, I represented the people of America as fond of Britain, concerned for its interests and its glory, and without the least desire of a separation from it. In both cases, I thought and still think, I did not exceed the bounds of truth, and I have the heart-felt satisfaction attending good intentions, even when they are not successful.

With these sentiments I could not but see with concern the sending of troops to Boston; and their behavior to the people there, gave me infinite uneasiness, as I apprehended from that measure the worst of consequences;—a breach between the two countries. And I was the more concerned when I found, that it was considered there as a national measure, (since none here opposed it,) and as a proof that Britain had no longer a parental regard for them. I myself in conversation sometimes spoke of it in this light, and I own with some resentment, (being myself a native of that country) till I was, to my great surprise, assured by a gentleman of character and distinction, (whom I am not at present permitted to name) that not only the measure I particularly censured so warmly, but all the other grievances we complained of, took their rise, not from the government here, but were projected, proposed to administration, solicited, and obtained, by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves; as necessary measures for the welfare of that country. As I could not readily assent to the probability of this, he undertook to convince me, and he hoped through me (as their agent here) my countrymen. Accordingly, he called on me some days after, and produced to me these very letters from lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, secretary Oliver, and others, which have since been the subject of so much discussion.

Though astonished, I could not but confess myself convinced, and I was ready, as he desired, to convince my countrymen; for I saw, I felt indeed by its effect upon myself, the tendency it must have towards a reconciliation; which for the common good I earnestly wished; it appeared, moreover, my *duty* to give my constituents intelligence of such importance to their affairs;—but there was some difficulty, as this gentleman would not permit copies to be taken of the letters; and if that could have been done, the authenticity of those copies might have been doubted and disputed. My simple account of them, as papers I had seen, would have been still less certain; I therefore wished to have the use of the originals for that purpose, which I at length obtained, on

these express conditions: that they should not be printed, that no copies should be taken of them, that they should be shown only to a few of the leading people of the government, and that they should be carefully returned.

I accepted those conditions, and under the same transmitted the original letters to the committee of correspondence at Boston, without taking or reserving any copy of them for myself. I agreed the more willingly to the restraint, from an apprehension that a publication might, considering the state of irritation in which the minds of the people there had long been kept, occasion some riot of mischievous consequence. I had no other scruple in sending them, for as they had been handed about here to injure that people, why not use them for their advantage? The writers, too, had taken the same liberty with the letters of others, transmitting hither those of Rosne and Auchmuty, in confirmation of their own calumnies against the Americans; copies of some of mine too, had been returned here by officers of government; why then should theirs be exempt from the same treatment? To whom they had been directed here I could only conjecture; for I was not informed, and there was no address upon them when I received them. My letter, in which I inclosed them, expressed more fully the motives abovementioned for sending them, and I shall presently give an extract of so much as related to them.

But as it has, on the contrary, been roundly asserted, that I *did not*, as agent, transmit those letters to the assembly's committee of correspondence; that I sent them to a junto, *my peculiar* correspondents; that fearing to be known as the person who sent them, I had insisted on the keeping that circumstance a secret; that I had "shown the utmost solicitude to have that secret kept;" and as this has been urged as a demonstrative proof, that I was conscious of guilt in the manner of obtaining them, and therefore feared a discovery so much as to have been afraid of putting my name to the letter in which I inclosed them, and which only appeared to be mine by my well-known hand writing; I would here, previ-

ous to that extract, observe, that on the same paper was first written the copy of a preceding letter, which had been first signed by me as usual; and, accordingly, the letter now in question began with these words, “*The above is a copy of my last;*” and all the first part of it was on business transacted by me relating to the affairs of the province, and particularly to two petitions sent to me as agent by the assembly, to be presented to the king. These circumstances must to every person there have as clearly shown me to be the writer of that letter, as my *well-known hand* must have done to those *peculiar correspondents* of my own, to whom it is said I sent it. If then I hoped to be concealed by not signing my name to such a letter, I must have been as silly as that bird, which is supposed to think itself unseen when it has hid only its head. And if I could depend on my correspondents keeping secret, a letter and a transaction which they must needs know were mine, I might as well have trusted them with my name, and could have had no motive for omitting it. In truth, all I insisted on was, (in pursuance of my engagement) that the letters should not be printed or copied; but I had not at the time the least thought or desire of keeping my part in that transaction a secret; and, therefore, so far from requesting it, I did not so much as give the smallest intimation, even that it would be agreeable to me not to be mentioned on the occasion. And if I had had that inclination, I must have been very weak indeed to fancy, that the person I wrote to, all the rest of the committee of correspondence, five other persons named, and “*such others* as the committee might think fit to show them to,” with three gentlemen here to whom I had communicated the matter, should all keep as a secret on my account what I did not state as a secret, or request should be concealed.

So much of the letter as relates to the governor’s letter, is as follows:

“On this occasion I think it fit to acquaint you, that there has lately fallen into my hands part of a correspondence that I have reason to believe laid the foundation of most, if not

all our present grievances. I am not at liberty to tell through what channel I received it; and I have engaged that it shall not be printed, nor any copies taken of the whole, or any part of it; but I am allowed to let it be seen by some men of worth in the province, for their satisfaction only. In confidence of your preserving inviolably my engagement, I send you inclosed the original letters, to obviate every pretence of unfairness in copying, interpolation, or omission. The hands of the gentlemen will be well known. Possibly they may not like such an exposal of their conduct, however tenderly and privately it may be managed. But if they are good men, or pretend to be such, and agree that *all good men wish a good understanding and harmony to subsist between the colonies and their mother country*, they ought the less to regret, that at the small expense of their reputation for sincerity and public spirit among their compatriots, *so desirable an event may in some degree be forwarded*. For my own part, I cannot but acknowlege, that my resentment against this country, for its arbitrary measures in governing us, conducted by the late minister, has, since my conviction by these papers, that those measures were projected, advised, and called for, by men of character among ourselves, and whose advice must therefore be attended with all the weight that was proper to mislead, and which could therefore scarce fail of misleading; my own resentment, I say, has by this means been exceedingly abated. *I think they must have the same effect with you*; but I am not, as I have said, at liberty to make the letters public. I can only allow them to be seen by yourself, by the other gentlemen of the committee of correspondence, by Messrs. Bowdoin and Pitts of the council, and doctors Chauncey, Cooper, and Winthrop, with a few such other gentlemen as you may think fit to show them to. After being some months in your possession, you are requested to return them to me.

“As to the writers, I can easily as well as charitably conceive it possible, that a man educated in prepossessions of the unbounded authority of parliament, &c. may think unjustifiable every opposition even to its unconstitutional exactions,

and imagine it their duty to suppress, as much as in them lies, such opposition. But when I find them bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, and negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people; and conscious of the odium these might be attended with, calling for troops to protect and secure the enjoyment of them; when I see them exciting jealousies in the crown, and provoking it to work against so great a part of its faithful subjects; creating enmities between the different countries of which the empire consists; occasioning a great expense to the *old* country for suppressing or preventing imaginary rebellions in the *new*, and to the new country for the payment of needless gratifications to useless officers and enemies; I cannot but doubt their sincerity even in the political principles they profess; and deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emolument, through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest, not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire.

“With the greatest esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your and the committee’s most obedient humble servant,
B. FRANKLIN.”

My next letter is of Jan. 5th, 1773, to the same gentleman, beginning with these words.—“I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 2d of December past, inclosing some original letters from persons at Boston, which I hope got safe to hand.”—And then goes on with other business transacted by me as agent, and is signed with my name as usual. In truth I never sent an anonymous letter to any person in America, since my residence in London, unless where two or more letters happened to be on the same paper, the first a copy of a preceding letter, and the subsequent referring to the preceding; in that case, I may possibly have omitted signing more than one of them as unnecessary.

The first letter, acknowledging the receipt of the papers, is dated Boston, March 24th, 1773, and begins thus: “I have

just received your favor of the 2d December last, with the several papers inclosed, for which I am much obliged to you. I have communicated them to some of the gentlemen you mentioned. They are of opinion, that though it might be inconvenient to publish them, yet it might be expedient to have copies taken and left on this side the water, as there may be a necessity to make some use of them hereafter: however, I read to them what you had wrote to me upon the occasion, and told them I could by no means consent copies of them or any part of them should be taken without your express leave; that I would write to you upon the subject, and should strictly conform to your directions."

The next letter, dated April 20th, 1773, begins thus: "I wrote you in my last, that the gentlemen to whom I had communicated the papers you sent me under cover of yours of the 2d of December last, were of opinion that they ought to be retained on this side the water, to be hereafter employed as the exigency of our affairs may require, or at least that authenticated copies ought to be taken before they are returned: I shall have, I find, a very difficult task properly to conduct this matter, unless you obtain leave for their being retained or copied. I shall wait your directions on this head, and hope they will be such as will be agreeable to all the gentlemen, who unanimously are of opinion, that it can by no means answer any valuable purpose to send them here for the inspection of a few persons, barely to satisfy their curiosity."

On the 9th of March I wrote to the same person, not having then received the preceding letters, and mentioned my having written to him on the 2d of December and 5th of January; and knowing what use was made against the people *there*, of every trifling mob; and fearing lest if the letters should, contrary to my directions, be made public, something more serious of the kind might happen, I concluded that letter thus: "I must hope that great care will be taken to keep our people quiet, since nothing is more wished for by our enemies, than that by insurrections, we should give a

good pretence for increasing the military among us, and putting us under more severe restraints. And it must be evident to all, that by our rapidly increasing strength, we shall soon become of so much importance, that none of our just claims or privileges will be, as heretofore, unattended to, nor any security we can wish for our rights be denied us."

Mine of May 6th, begins thus: "I have received none of your favors since that of Nov. 28th. I have since written to you of the following dates, Dec. 2d, Jan. 5th, March 9th, and April 3d, which I hope got safe to hand." Thus in two out of three letters subsequent to that of Dec. 2d, which inclosed the governor's letters, I mentioned my writing that letter, which shows I could have no intention of concealing my having written it; and that therefore the assertion of my sending it anonymously is without probability.

In mine of June 2d, 1773, I acknowledge the receipt of his letter of March 24th, and not being able to answer immediately his request of leave to copy the letters, I said nothing of them then, postponing that subject to an opportunity which was expected two days after: viz. June 4th, when my letter of that date concludes thus, "As to the letters I communicated to you, though I have not been able to obtain leave to take copies or publish them, I have permission to let the originals remain with you, as long as you may think it of any use to have the originals in possession."

In mine of July 1773, I answer the above of April 20, as follows: "The letters communicated to you were not merely to satisfy the curiosity of any, but it was thought there might be a use in showing them to some friends of the province, and *even to some of the governor's party*, for their more certain information concerning his conduct and politics, though the letters were not made quite public. I believe I have since written to you, that there was no occasion to return them speedily; and though I cannot obtain leave as yet to suffer copies to be taken of them, I am allowed to say, that they may be shewn and read to whom and as many as you think proper."

The same person wrote to me June 14th, 1773, in these terms: "I have endeavored inviolably to keep to your injunctions with respect to the papers you sent me; I have shewn them only to such persons as you directed; no one person, except Dr. Cooper and one of the committee, knows from whom they came, or to whom they were sent: I have constantly avoided mentioning your name upon the occasion, so that it never need be known (if you incline to keep it a secret) who they came from, and to whom they were sent; and *I desire, so far as I am concerned, my name may not be mentioned; for it may be a damage to me.* I thought it however my duty to communicate them as permitted, as they contained matters of importance that very nearly affected the government. And notwithstanding all my care and precaution, it is now publicly known that such letters are here. Considering the number of persons who were to see them, (not less than ten or fifteen) it is astonishing they did not get air before."— Then he goes on to relate how the assembly having heard of them, obliged him to produce them; but engaged not to print them; and that they afterwards did nevertheless print them, having got over that engagement by the appearance of copies in the house, produced by a member who it was reported had just received them from England. This letter concludes, "*I have done all in my power strictly to conform to your restrictions, but from the circumstances above related, you must be sensible it was impossible to prevent the letters being made public, and therefore hope I shall be free from all blame respecting this matter.*"

This letter accounts for its being, *unexpectedly to me*, made a secret in Boston that I had sent the letters. The gentleman to whom I sent them had his reasons for desiring not to be known as the person who received and communicated them; but as this would have been suspected, if it were known that I sent them, that circumstance was to be kept a secret. Ac-

cordingly they were given to another, to be by him produced by the committee.²

My answer to this was of July 25th, 1773, as follows: "I am favored with yours of June 14th, containing some copies of the resolves of the committee upon the letters. I see by your account of the transaction, that you could not well prevent what was done. As to the report of other copies being come from England, I think that could not be. It was an expedient to disengage the house.³ I hope the possession of the

² When Dr. Franklin put in his answer to the bill in Chancery, which had been filed against him in the name of Mr. Whately, he demurred to two of the interrogatories which it contained, and by which he was required to name the person in England from whom he had received the letters in question, and also the person in America to whom they had by him been transmitted; and declined making any disclosure of their names. This demurrer was however overruled; and he was ordered to answer these interrogatories: but feeling that his doing so would be a *violation* of his engagement to the person from whom he had received the letters, and probably injurious to the person to whom they had been sent, he thought it incumbent on him to return to America, and thereby avoid the breach of his engagement, and he appears to have done this conscientiously; and so completely, that the person from whom the letters were received, was never ascertained; nor were any of the conjectures respecting that person founded upon, or suggested by any infidelity or indiscretion on the part of Dr. Franklin. He was not however under an equal obligation to secrecy, in regard to the person to whom the letters were *immediately* transmitted; and he therefore confidentially informed a friend of his, (Dr. Bancroft, to whom the editor is indebted for this note) that they had been sent to Mr. Cushing, then speaker of the house of representatives of the Massachusetts' Bay; with whom it was Dr. Franklin's duty, as agent for the assembly of that province, to correspond:—a fact now ascertained in his *PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE*, Part II., and which there is no longer any motive for concealing.

³ Men sometimes think it allowable to act improperly for what they consider as *good* purposes. This was done at Boston, in regard to the letters under consideration:—a publication of these letters was deemed of the *highest importance*, by the leading members of the house of representatives; and copies of them were therefore made unwarrantably; and these, the late Mr. Hancock was induced to bring forward in that house, of which he was a member, and to declare that they had been sent to him from England; a declaration which could not have been true.

originals, and the proceedings upon them will be attended with salutary effects to the province, and then I shall be well pleased.—I observe what you mention, that no person besides Dr. Cooper and one of the committee knew they came from me. I did not accompany them with any request of being myself concealed, for believing what I did, to be in the way of my *duty* as agent, though I had no doubt of its giving offence, not only to the parties exposed, but to administration here, I was regardless of the consequences. However, since the letters themselves are now copied and printed, contrary to the promise I made, I am glad my name has not been heard on the occasion, and as I do not see it could be of any use to the public, I now wish it may continue unknown, though I hardly expect it. As to yours, you may rely on my never mentioning it, except that I may be obliged to shew your letter in my own vindication, to the person only who might otherwise think he had reason to blame ME for breach of engagement.”

With the abovementioned letter of the 14th of June, I received one from another of the gentlemen to whom the papers had been communicated, which says, “By whom and to whom they were sent is still a secret, known only to three persons here, and may still remain so if you desire it.” My answer to him of July 25th, was, “I accompanied them with no restriction relating to myself: my duty to the province as their agent I thought required the communication of them so far as I could. I was sensible I should make enemies there, and perhaps might offend government here; but these apprehensions I disregarded. I did not expect, and hardly still expect, that my sending them could be kept a secret. But since it is such hitherto, I now wish it may continue so, because the publication of the letters, contrary to my engagement, has changed the circumstances.—His reply to this of the 10th of November, is, “After all the solicitous inquiries of the governor and his friends respecting his letters, it still remains a secret from and to whom they were sent here. This is known among us, to two only besides myself; and will re-

main undiscovered, unless further intelligence should come from your side the water, than I have reason to think has yet been obtained. I cannot, however, but admire your honest openness in this affair, and noble negligence of any inconveniences that might arise to yourself in this essential service to our injured country."

To another friend I wrote of the same date, July 25th, what will show the apprehensions I was constantly under of the mischiefs that might attend a breach from the exasperated state of things, and the arguments I used to prevent it, viz. "I am glad to see that you are elected into the council, and are about to take part in our public affairs. Your abilities, integrity, and sober attachment to the liberties of our country, will be of great use at this tempestuous time, in conducting our little bark into a safe harbor. By the Boston newspapers, there seem to be among us some violent spirits who are for an immediate rupture. But I trust the general prudence of our countrymen will see, that by our growing strength we advance fast to a situation in which our claims must be allowed; that by a premature struggle we may be crippled and kept down another age; that as between friends every affront is not worth a duel, and between nations every injury is not worth a war, so between the governed and the governing, every mistake in government, every encroachment on rights is not worth a rebellion: 'tis, in my opinion, sufficient for the present, that we hold them forth on all occasions, not giving up any of them, using at the same time every means to make them generally understood and valued by the people; cultivating a harmony among the colonies, that their union in the same sentiments may give them greater weight; remembering withal that this Protestant country (our mother, though of late an unkind one) is worth preserving, and that her weight in the scale of Europe, her safety in a great degree, may depend on our union with her. Thus conducting, I am confident, we may within a few years, obtain every allowance of, and every security for, our inestimable privileges, that we can wish or desire."—His answer of Dec.

31st, is, "I concur perfectly with you in the sentiments expressed in your last. No considerate person, I should think, can approve of desperate remedies, except in desperate cases. The people of America are extremely agitated by the repeated efforts of administration to subject them to absolute power. They have been amused with accounts of the pacific disposition of the ministry, and flattered with assurances that upon their humble petitions all their grievances would be redressed. They have petitioned from time to time; but their petitions have had no other effect than to make them feel more sensibly their own slavery. Instead of redress, every year has produced some new manœuvre, which could have no tendency but to irritate them more and more. The last measure of the East India company's sending their tea here, subject to a duty, seems to have given the finishing stroke to their patience. You will have heard of the steps taken at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to prevent the payment of this duty, by sending the tea back to its owners. But as this was found impossible at Boston, the destruction of the tea was the consequence. What the event of these commotions will be God only knows. The people through the colonies appear immovably fixed in their resolution, that the tea duty shall never be paid; and if the ministry are determined to enforce these measures, I dread the consequences: I verily fear they will turn America into a field of blood. But I will hope for the best."

I am told that administration is possessed of most of my letters sent or received on public affairs for some years past. Copies of them having been obtained from the files of the several assemblies, or as they passed through the post office. I do not condemn their ministerial industry, or complain of it. The foregoing extracts may be compared with those copies; and I can appeal to them with confidence, that upon such comparison these extracts will be found faithfully made. And that the whole tenor of my letters has been, to persuade patience and a careful guarding against all violence, under the grievances complained of, and this from various considerations,

such as that the welfare of the empire depended upon the union of its parts, that the sovereign was well disposed towards us, and the body of this nation our friends and well-wishers; that it was the ministry only who were prejudiced against us; that the sentiments of ministers might in time be changed, or the ministers themselves be changed; or that if those chances failed, at least time would infallibly bring redress, since the strength, weight, and importance of America was continually and rapidly increasing, and its friendship of course daily becoming more valuable, and more likely to be cultivated by an attention to its rights. The newspapers have announced, that *treason* is found in some of my letters. It must then be of some new species. The invention of court lawyers has always been fruitful in the discovery of new treasons: and perhaps it is now become treason to censure the conduct of ministers. None of any other kind, I am sure, can be found in my correspondence.

The effect of the governor's letters on the minds of the people in New England, when they came to be read there, was precisely what had been expected, and proposed by sending them over. It was now seen that the grievances, which had been so deeply resented as measures of the mother country, were in fact the measures of two or three of their own people; of course all that resentment was withdrawn from her, and fell where it was proper it should fall, on the heads of those caitiffs, who were the authors of the mischief. Both houses took up the matter in this light. The council resolved that

[*This piece is wanting.*]

and the house of representatives agreed to the following resolves, reported by the committee appointed to consider the letters, viz.

"The Committee appointed to consider certain Letters laid before the House of Representatives, the following Resolves.

"*Tuesday, June 15th, 1773.*

"Resolved, That the letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson* and *Andrew Oliver*, now under the consideration of this house, appear to be the ge-

nuine letters of the present governor and lieutenant-governor of this province, whose hand-writing and signatures are well known to many of the members of this house: and that they contain aggravated accounts of facts, and misrepresentations: and that one *manifest design* of them was to represent the matters they treat of in a light *highly injurious* to this province, and the persons against whom they were written.

“Resolved, That though the letters aforesaid, signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, are said by the governor in his message to this house of *June 9th*, to be ‘private letters written to a gentleman in *London*, since deceased,’ and ‘that all except the last were written many months before he came to the chair; yet that they were written by the present governor, *when he was lieutenant-governor and chief justice* of this province; who has been represented abroad, as *eminent for his abilities*, as for his exalted station; and was under no official obligation to transmit private intelligence: and that they *therefore must be considered* by the person to whom they were sent, as *documents of solid intelligence*: and that this gentleman in *London* to whom they were written, was then a member of the British parliament, and one who was very active in *American* affairs; and therefore that these letters, however secretly written, *must naturally be supposed to have, and really had, a public operation.*

“Resolved, That these ‘private letters’ being written ‘with express confidence of secrecy,’ was only to prevent the contents of them being known *here*, as appears by said letters; and this rendered them the more injurious in their tendency, and really insidious.

“Resolved, That the letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, considering the person by whom they were written, the matters they expressly contain, the express reference in some of them for ‘full intelligence’ to Mr. *Hallowell*, a person deeply interested in the measures so much complained of, and commendatory notices of divers other persons, whose emoluments arising from our public burdens must excite them to unfavorable representations of us, *the measures they suggest*, the temper in which they were written, the manner in which they were sent, and the person to whom they were addressed, had a natural and *efficacious* tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of our most gracious sovereign King George the Third, from this his loyal and affectionate province; to destroy that harmony and good will between Great-Britain and this colony, which every friend to either would wish to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavors of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of grievances; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the royal ear of our common sovereign; and *to produce the severe and destructive measures* which have been taken against this province, and others still more so, which have been threatened.

“Resolved, As the opinion of this house, that it clearly appears from the letters aforesaid, signed *Thomas Hutchinson* and *Andrew Oliver*, that

it was the desire and endeavor of the writers of them, that *certain acts* of the British parliament, for raising a revenue in America, *might be carried into effect by military force*; and by introducing a fleet and army into this his majesty's loyal province, to intimidate the minds of his subjects here, and to prevent every constitutional measure to obtain the repeal of those acts, so justly esteemed a grievance to us, and to suppress the very spirit of freedom.

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that as the salaries lately appointed for the governor, lieutenant-governor, and judges of this province, directly repugnant to the charter, and subversive of justice, are founded on this revenue; and as these letters were written *with a design*, and *had a tendency to promote and support* that revenue, therefore, there is great reason to suppose the writers of those letters *were well-knowing to, suggested and promoted* the enacting said revenue acts, and the establishments founded on the same.

“Resolved, That while the writer of these letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, has been thus exerting himself, by his ‘secret confidential correspondence,’ to introduce measures destructive of our constitutional liberty, he has been practising every method among the people of this province, to fix in their minds an exalted opinion of his warmest affection for them, and his unremitted endeavors to promote their best interests at the court of Great Britain.

“Resolved, as the opinion of this house, That by comparing these letters signed THO. HUTCHINSON, with those signed AND. OLIVER, CHAS. PAXTON, and NATH. ROGERS, and considering what has since in fact taken place conformable thereto, *that there have been for many years past, measures contemplated, and a plan formed, by a set of men born and educated among us*, to raise their own fortunes, and advance themselves to posts of honor and profit, not only to the destruction of the charter and constitution of this province, but at the expense of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. And it is further the opinion of this house, that the said persons have been some of the *chief instruments in the introduction of a military force into the province, to carry their plans into execution*; and therefore *they have been not only greatly instrumental in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing and promoting great discord and animosities, but are justly chargeable with the great corruption of morals, and all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of the introduction of troops*.

“Whereas, for many years past, measures have been taken by the British administration, very grievous to the good people of this province; which this house have now reason to suppose, were promoted, if not originally suggested by the writers of these letters; and many efforts have been made by the people to obtain the redress of their grievances: Resolved,

"That it appears to this house, that the writers of these letters have availed themselves of disorders that naturally arise in a free government under such oppressions, as arguments to prove, that it was originally necessary such measures should have been taken, and that they should now be continued and increased.

"Whereas in the letter signed Cha. Paxton, dated Boston Harbor, June 20, 1768, it is expressly declared, that 'unless we have immediately two or three regiments, 'tis the opinion of all the friends of government, that Boston will be in open rebellion.'

"Resolved, That this is a most wicked and injurious representation, designed to inflame the minds of his majesty's ministers, and the nation; and to excite in the breast of our sovereign, a jealousy of his loyal subjects of said town, without the least grounds therefor, as enemies of his majesty's person and government.

"Whereas certain letters by two private persons, signed T. Moffat and G. Rome, have been laid before the house, which letters contain many matters highly injurious to government, and to the national peace: Resolved, That it has been the misfortune of this government, from the earliest period of it, from time to time, to be secretly traduced and maliciously represented to the British ministry, by persons who were neither friendly to this colony, nor to the English constitution.

"Resolved, That this house have just reason to complain of it as a very great grievance, that the humble petitions and remonstrances of the commons of this province are not allowed to reach the hands of our most gracious sovereign, merely because they are presented by an agent, to whose appointment the governor, with whom our chief dispute may subsist, doth not consent; while the *partial and inflammatory letters* of individuals who are greatly interested in the revenue acts, and the measures taken to carry them into execution, *have been laid before administration, attended to, and determined upon*, not only to the injury of the reputation of the people, but to the depriving them of their invaluable rights and liberties.

"Whereas this house are humbly of opinion, that his majesty will judge it to be incompatible with the interest of his crown, and the peace and safety of the good people of this his loyal province, that persons should be continued in places of high trust and authority in it, who are known to have with great industry, though secretly, endeavored to undermine, alter, and overthrow the constitution of the province.

"Therefore,

"Resolved, That this house is bound in duty to the king and their constituents, humbly to remonstrate to his majesty, the conduct of his excellency Thomas Hutchinson, esq. governor, and the honorable Andrew Oliver, esq. lieutenant-governor of this province; and to pray that his majesty would be pleased to remove them for ever from the government thereof."

Upon these resolutions was founded a petition, transmitted to me to be presented to his majesty.

Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, being in the country when I received this petition, I transmitted it to his lordship, inclosed in a letter.^b

No one who knows lord Dartmouth, can doubt of the sincerity of the good wishes expressed in his letter to me; and if his majesty's other servants had fortunately been possessed of the same benevolent dispositions, with as much of that attention to the public interest, and dexterity in managing it, as statesmen of this country generally show in obtaining and securing their *places*, here was a fine opportunity put into their hands of "re-establishing the union and harmony that formerly subsisted between Great Britain and her colonies," so necessary to the welfare of both, and upon the easy condition of only "restoring things to the state they were in at the conclusion of the late war." This was a solemn declaration sent over from the province most aggrieved, in which they acquitted Britain of their grievances, and charged them all upon a few individuals of their own country. Upon the heads of these very mischievous men they deprecated no vengeance, though that of the whole nation was justly merited; they considered it as a hard thing for an administration to punish a governor who had acted from orders, though the orders had been procured by his misrepresentations and calumnies; they therefore only petitioned, "that his majesty would be pleased to remove T. Hutchinson, esquire, and A. Oliver, esquire, from their posts in that government, and place good and faithful men in their stead." These men might have been placed or pensioned elsewhere, as others have been; or like the scape-goats of old, they might have carried away into the wilderness all the offences which had arisen between the two countries, with the burthen of which, they, having been the authors of these mischiefs, were most justly chargeable.

But this opportunity ministers had not the wisdom to embrace; they chose rather to reject it, and to abuse and

^b See Vol. IV. page 142, 3, 4, of this edition.

punish me for giving it. A court clamor was raised against me as an incendiary; and the very action upon which I valued myself, as it appeared to me a means of lessening our differences, I was unlucky enough to find charged upon me, as a wicked attempt to increase them. Strange perversion!^e

I was it seems equally unlucky in another action, which I also intended for a good one, and which brought on the above-mentioned clamor. The news being arrived here of the publication of those letters in America, great inquiry was made who had transmitted them. Mr. Temple, a gentleman of the customs, was accused of it in the papers. He vindicated himself. A public altercation ensued upon it, between him and a Mr. Whately, brother and executor to the person to whom it was supposed the letters had been originally written, and who was suspected by some of communicating them; on the supposition, that by his brother's death they might have fallen into his hands. As the gentleman to whom I sent them, had, in his letter to me above recited, given an important reason for his desiring it should be concealed, that he was the person who received them, and had, for the same reason, chosen not to let it be known I sent them, I suffered that altercation to go on without interfering, supposing it would end, as other newspaper controversies usually do, when the parties and the public should be tired of them. But this dispute unexpectedly and suddenly produced a duel. The gentlemen were parted; Mr. Whately was wounded, but not dangerously. This, however, alarmed me, and made me wish I had prevented it; but imagining all now over between them, I still kept silence, till I heard that the duel was understood to be unfinished, (as having been interrupted by persons acci-

^e "We must not, in the course of public life, expect *immediate* approbation, and *immediate* grateful acknowledgement of our services. But let us persevere through *abuse*, and even *injury*. The internal satisfaction of a good conscience is always present, and time will do us justice in the minds of the people, even those at present the most prejudiced against us."—*Franklin's Private Correspondence*.

dentally near), and that it would probably be repeated as soon as Mr. Whately, who was mending daily had recovered his strength. I then thought it high time to interpose; and as the quarrel was for the public opinion, I took what I thought the shortest way to settle that opinion, with regard to the parties, by publishing an explanation in the **PUBLIC ADVERTISER**.^d

This declaration of mine was at first generally approved, except that some blamed me for not having made it sooner, so as to prevent the duel; but I had not the gift of prophecy: I could not foresee that the gentlemen would fight; I did not even foresee that either of them could possibly take it ill of me. I imagined I was doing them a good office, in clearing both of them from suspicion, and removing the cause of their difference. I should have thought it natural for them both to have thanked me, but I was mistaken as to one of them; his wound perhaps at first prevented him, and afterwards he was tutored probably to another kind of behavior by his court connections. My only acquaintance with this gentleman, Mr. William Whately, was from an application he made to me to do him the favor of inquiring after some land in Pennsylvania, supposed to have been purchased antiently from the first proprietor, by a major Thomson, his grandfather, of which they had some imperfect memorandums in the family, but knew not whether it might not have been sold or conveyed away by him in his life-time, as there was no mention of it in his will. I took the trouble of writing accordingly, to a friend of mine, an eminent lawyer there, well acquainted with such business, desiring him to make the inquiry. He took some pains in it at my request, and succeeded; and, in a letter informed me, that he had found the land; that the proprietary claimed it, but he thought the title was clear to the heir of Thomson; that he could easily recover it for him, and would undertake it if Mr. Whately should think fit to employ him; or if he rather chose to sell it, my friend empow-

^d See Vol. IV. p. 147 of this edition.

ered me to make him an offer of five thousand pounds sterling for it. With this letter I waited upon him about a month before the duel, at his house in Lombard street, the first time I had ever been in it. He was pleased with the intelligence, and called upon me once or twice afterwards to concert the means of making out his title. I mention some of these circumstances to show, that it was not through any previous acquaintance with him that I came to the knowledge of the famous letters; for they had been in America near a year before I so much as knew where he lived:—and the others I mention to show his gratitude. I could have excused his not thanking me for sparing him a second hazard of his life; for though he might feel himself served, he might also apprehend that to seem pleased would look as if he was afraid of fighting again; or perhaps he did not value his life at any thing; but the addition to his fortune one would think of some value to a banker; and yet the return this worthy gentleman made me for both favors, was, without the smallest previous notice, warning, complaint, or request to me, directly or indirectly, to clap upon my back a chancery suit. His bill set forth, “That he was administrator of the goods and chattels of his late brother Thomas Whately; that some letters had been written to his said brother by the governors Hutchinson and Oliver; that those letters had been in the custody of his said brother at the time of his death, *or had been by him delivered to some other person for perusal*, and to be by such person safely kept and returned to said Thomas Whately; that the same had by some means come into my hands; that to prevent a discovery, I, or some person by my order, had erased the address of the letters to the said Thomas Whately; that, carrying on the trade of a printer, I had by my agents or *confederates*, printed and published the same letters in America, and disposed of great numbers; that I threatened to print and sell the same in England; and that *he had applied to me to deliver up to him the said letters, and all copies thereof, and desist from printing and publishing the same, and account with him for the profits thereof*; and he

was in hopes I would have complied with such request, but so *it was that I had refused, &c.* contrary to equity and good conscience, and to the manifest *injury* and *oppression* of him the complainant; and praying my lord chancellor that I might be obliged to discover how I came by the letters, what number of copies I had printed and sold, and to *account with him for the profits, &c. &c.*" The gentleman himself must have known, that *every circumstance* of this was *totally false*; that of his brother's having *delivered the letters to some other person for perusal*, excepted. Those as little acquainted with law as I was, (who indeed never before had a law-suit of any kind) may wonder at this as much as I did; but I have now learnt that in chancery, though the *defendant* must swear to the truth of every point in his answer, the *plaintiff* is not put to his oath, or obliged to have the least regard to truth in his bill, but is allowed to lie as much as he pleases. I do not understand this, unless it be for the encouragement of business.

My answer upon oath was, "That the letters in question were given to me, and came into my hands, *as agent for the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay*; that when given to me, I did not know to whom they had been addressed, no address appearing upon them; nor did I know before, that any such letters existed; that I had not been for many years concerned in printing; that I did not cause the letters to be printed, nor direct the doing it; that I did not erase any address that might have been on the letters; nor did I know that any other person had made such erasure; that I did, as agent to the province, transmit (as I apprehended it my duty to do) the said letters to one of the committee, with whom I had been directed to correspond, inasmuch as in my judgment they related to matters of great public importance to that province, and were put into my hands for that purpose; that I had never been applied to by the complainant, as asserted in his bill, and had made no profits of the letters, nor intended to make any, &c."

It was about this time become evident, that all thoughts of reconciliation with the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, by attention to their petitions and a redress of their grievances, was laid aside; that severity was resolved; and that the decrying and villifying the people of that country, and me their agent among the rest, was quite a court measure. It was the *ton* with all the ministerial folks to abuse them and me, in every company, and in every newspaper; and it was intimated to me as a thing settled, long before it happened, that the petition for removal of the governors was to be rejected, the assembly censured, and myself who had presented it, was to be punished by the loss of my place in the post office. For all this I was therefore prepared; but the attack from Mr. Whately was, I own, a surprise to me; under the abovementioned circumstances of obligation, and without the slightest provocation, I could not have imagined any man base enough to commence, *of his own motion*, such a vexatious suit against me. But a little accidental information served to throw some light upon the business: an acquaintance calling on me, after having just been at the treasury, showed me what he styled a *pretty thing*, for a friend of his; it was an order for one hundred and fifty pounds, payable to Dr. Samuel Johnson, said to be one half of his yearly pension, and drawn by the secretary of the treasury on this same Mr. Whately. I then considered him as a banker to the treasury for the pension money, and thence as having an interested connection with administration, that might induce him to act *by direction* of others in harassing me with this suit; which gave me if possible a *still meaner* opinion of him, than if he had done it of his own accord.

What further steps he or his *confederates*, the ministers, will take in this cause, I know not: I do not believe the banker himself, finding there are no profits to be shared, would willingly lay out a sixpence more upon the suit; but then my finances are not sufficient to cope at law with the *treasury*

^e This was the late William Strahan, esq. M. P. and king's printer.

here; especially when administration has taken care to prevent my constituents of New England from paying me any salary, or reimbursing me any expenses, by a special instruction to the governor, *not to sign any warrant for that purpose on the treasury there.*

The injustice of thus depriving the people there of the use of their own money, to pay an agent acting in their defence, while the governor, with a large salary out of the money extorted from them by act of parliament, was enabled to pay plentifully Mauduit and Wedderburn to abuse and defame them and their agent, is so evident as to need no comment. But this they call GOVERNMENT!!

Here closes the tract, as written by Dr. Franklin.

It plainly appears by the foregoing lucid statement, and the faithful account of the unwarrantable proceedings before the lords of the privy council,^f now particularly referred to; that when Dr. Franklin, as agent for the province of Massachusetts Bay, presented the petition for removing the governor and lieutenant-governor, the ministry made the cause of those gentlemen their own; and Wedderburn, in defiance of the common law and custom of the realm, was ordered to change the object of the court; and, instead of entering into the merits of the question, to abuse a man who had offended them:

“Search earth, search hell, the devil could not find,
An agent like *LOTHARIO*, to his mind.” *Churchill.*

This, like all atrocious proceedings, raised the indignation of the people, and a transient glow was seen in every countenance. In the first transports of it, even corruption and venality spoke the sentiments of virtue. Wedderburn was every where mentioned with detestation, which was doing him too much honor; a little troublesome genius, with words enough to be

^f See Vol. IV. p. 109 of this edition.

plausible, and cunning enough to be a tool, can never be an object for any thing but contempt. It was as generous in the public to be angry with him, as it would be in a child to detest a brick-bat or a stone, which had been made use of to injure its benefactor. Those who were somewhere behind the scenes, and who ordered the exhibitions which the ostensible people were only acting, were the proper objects of indignation; and if there had been virtue enough in the nation, they would have been dragged into light, and sacrificed to the liberties of the people.

Administration having at this time succeeded in their plans in the *east*, turned their views *westward*, where alone liberty seemed to have any refuge, and where therefore their principal efforts must be directed. The same art and the same chicanery had been practised there; but it was not likely to be attended with the same success. America was not disposed to become, like the East Indies, an *appendage* to administration. It had raised itself into wealth by a kind industry, which produced virtues, of which administration had little or no conception; they therefore denominated them vices.

It was evident, that the contest with America was merely an affair of administration, with a view to increase the number of places at its disposal, and to facilitate the only method they knew of to govern the people. It will not be wondered at, therefore, that those persons who appeared in behalf of the Americans, should undergo all the rage and malice of administration. Dr. Franklin had been the most distinguished of those, and would long before have been sacrificed to their resentment, if he had not been protected by real integrity and by very superior talents. He was sent over to England to oppose the stamp act; and the virtuous and noble strain of all his answers at his examination before the house of commons, in February, 1776,^s seemed to reproach the times: they were like the sentiments of an Aristides, and they left deep impressions on the minds of men. For that very reason he was

^s See vol. IV. p. 109, of this edition.

watched, tried, and tempted. Cunning, allied even with power, cannot commit wickedness in a manly manner. At last, something like an occasion arose, and the whole wisdom of government was employed to make the most of it. Dr. Franklin had got into his possession the letters of governor Hutchinson and lieutenant-governor Oliver, in a manner which he has shown to have been very consistent with the highest honor and honesty. These letters, which Wedderburn called *private* and *confidential* ones, were used by *public* men to produce *public* measures. Dr. Franklin thought it his *duty* as an agent, to send them to Boston, to remove the misapprehensions of his friends there concerning all the motives of government, and to direct their resentment to its proper objects. A further use was made of the letters than he intended; and they produced the *petition* which he was ordered to present. The conduct of administration on the occasion was most extraordinary! The rulers of a great people might have been expected, even with any principles, to have had some regard to *decency*. The petition of a large and important province was going to be considered; administration thought fit to turn it into a pastime; they invited their friends in great numbers to partake of the entertainment. This serious business was converted into a bull-baiting; the noble creature was to be taken by surprise, to be secured from assistance, and to be yelped and bit at by a little noisy cur. This was proper matter of diversion for a solemn committee of the privy council, and a large audience of the wise and virtuous senators of the country!

But it served to *amuse*. The Boston petition had the *appearance* of a hearing; and some noise was made about *virtue*, and *truth*, and *honor*, in ill-grounded invectives against Dr. Franklin. That truly great and good man beheld the childish tricks with thorough contempt; resolved himself not to break in upon the proper decorum of public business; and as he had not come there to squabble with Mr. Wedderburn, and was not, like him, a wrangler by profession, he thought it would be greatly letting himself down to take any notice

of him. He therefore let the diversion go on; and went home fully determined to make his appeal to a higher and more competent tribunal.

But cunning deals in something like plans and schemes of mischief, which Franklin did not suspect from the talents of his abusers; and if he had, he could not have provided against them. On the first rumor of a petition from Boston, against these good friends of administration, *Hutchinson* and *Oliver*, they determined on the whole plan. When the matter came to a hearing, it was to be converted into abuse of Dr. Franklin, who was to be dismissed from his place the next morning, loaded with all the ignominy and disgrace they could lay upon him.—But what was to be done with his understanding and talents?—This man, though in years, and of a philosophical and peaceable turn, might not take all these injuries in good part; and Wilkes had given an instance that the people will favor the oppressed. Yes, and Wilkes had taught administration,—not *virtue*—that would have been a miracle,—but caution and prudence in committing violence. Wedderburn's talents would serve on this occasion; and he advised them to a suit in chancery. Whately, banker to the treasury, was accordingly ordered to *file a bill in chancery* against Dr. Franklin, for taking away his brother's letters. This it seems effectually tied up the doctor's hands, and was undoubtedly done with that sole view. For a man cannot even defend his own reputation, when the question on which it depends is what they call, pendant before my lord chancellor. The treasury is rich enough to keep this matter pendant a long while; and an offender against administration must not expect to disobey the rules of chancery, unnoticed by the lord chancellor. This fact, at the same time that it exhibited the great wisdom and equity of administration, accounted to the public for what seemed very strange: "That while a man of Dr. Franklin's character and abilities was daily and maliciously traduced, he had not published a line in his own defence." The essays which appeared for him in the public papers, were without his participation, and without his know-

lege. He had however written a full and clear account of the part he had taken in all public measures; and the motives and views on which he acted, probably with the intention of submitting it to the consideration of the world, whenever he could do it with safety. In the mean time it was the duty of his friends, to do what they could to prevent the effects of the most deliberate and rancorous malice that had ever been exerted against an innocent and praiseworthy man.

Every objection to his conduct was answered at the time, and generally well answered; except the plausible one, which was triumphantly made by the friends of administration. They said—that a man holding a place under a government, should be faithful to that government; and that Dr. Franklin, having a lucrative office, should not have embroiled government, on any account, with the Americans. This was suffering to be taken for granted, what indeed it would not have been difficult to prove; that the interest of administration is one thing, and the interest of the people another. It does not signify where the people reside, whether in America or in Middlesex. This being the case, it is avowing the plainest principle of tyranny, to maintain that the king's servants are his own, and have no duty or relation to the people! despotic governments perhaps may be alarmed to find this doctrine now condemned even in the army, which they consider as immediately depending on themselves, and perfectly separate from the public interest. To the honor of the military gentlemen, however, it is a fact, that many officers define their obligations with an integrity and public spirit which would have pleased a Cato. “We are the king's servants,” say they, “but it is only while the king is the servant of the people.” Apply this glorious principle to the case of Dr. Franklin; and let the *Mauduits* and *Wedderburns* nibble at it to the end of time.

Shortly after the proceedings before the privy council, Dr. Franklin was dismissed from the office of deputy postmaster general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by

his transmission of the letters of governor Bernard and lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favor of America. Two pieces in particular had lately attracted a large share of public attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the king of Prussia,^h for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one;"ⁱ in both of which he exposed the claims of the mother country and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

Tending these transactions, another antagonist to Dr. Franklin's fame started up. A publication by Josiah Tucker, D. D. and dean of Gloucester, appeared, and occasioned the following correspondence; by which it will readily be seen, that Dr. Franklin earnestly endeavored to obtain from the dean, an open and fair communication of the grounds and reasons upon which the latter had relied, in making certain charges against the former; and that he did this in the fullest confidence of being able completely to justify himself against them. And it will be as readily seen, that Dr. Tucker most uncandidly endeavors to avoid *that* communication, and *that* discovery of the truth which it was likely to produce.

To Dean Tucker.

REVEREND SIR, London, February 12, 1774.

BEING informed by a friend, that some severe strictures on my conduct and character had appeared in a book published under your respectable name, I purchased and read it. After thanking you for those parts of it that are so instruc-

^h See Vol. V. page 364 of this edition, and letter to Thomas Cushing, esq., Sept. 12, 1773, and to governor Franklin, October 6, 1773.

ⁱ See Vol. V. page 369 of this edition.

tive on points of great importance to the common interest of mankind, permit me to complain, that if by the description you give in pages 180, 181, of a certain American patriot, whom you say you need not name, you do, as is supposed, mean myself, nothing can be further from the truth than your assertion, that I applied or used any interest directly or indirectly to be appointed one of the stamp officers for America; I certainly never expressed a wish of the kind to any person whatever, much less was I, as you say, "more than ordinarily assiduous on this head." I have heretofore seen in the newspapers, insinuations of the same import, naming me expressly; but being without the name of the writer, I took no notice of them. I know not whether they were yours, or were only your authority for your present charge. But now that they have the weight of your name and dignified character, I am more sensible of the injury; and I beg leave to request, that you would reconsider the grounds on which you have ventured to publish an accusation, that, if believed, must prejudice me extremely in the opinion of good men, especially in my own country, whence I was sent expressly to oppose the imposition of that tax. If on such reconsideration and inquiry, you find, as I am persuaded you will, that you have been imposed upon by false reports, or have too lightly given credit to hearsays in a matter that concerns another's reputation, I flatter myself that your equity will induce you to do me justice, by retracting that accusation.

In confidence of this, I am with great esteem, reverend sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

To Dr. Franklin.

SIR,

Monday, February 21, 1774.

THE letter which you did me the honor to send to Gloucester, I have just received in London, where I have resided many weeks, and am now returning to Gloucester. On inquiry I find, that I was mistaken in *some circumstances relat-*

ing to your conduct about the stamp act, though right as to *substance*. These errors shall be rectified the first opportunity. After having assured you, that I am no dealer in anonymous newspaper paragraphs, nor have a connection with any who are, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

J. TUCKER.

To Dean Tucker.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED your favor of yesterday. If the *substance* of what you have charged me with is right, I can have but little concern about any mistakes in the *circumstances*: whether they are rectified or not, will be immaterial. But knowing the substance to be wrong, and believing that you can have no desire of continuing in an error, prejudicial to any man's reputation, I am persuaded you will not take it amiss, if I request you to communicate to me the particulars of the information you have received, that I may have an opportunity of examining them; and I flatter myself, I shall be able to satisfy you that they are groundless. I propose this method as more decent than a public altercation, and suiting better the respect due to your character.

With great regard, I have the honor to be, reverend sir,
your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

To Dr. Franklin.

SIR,

Gloucester, Feb. 27, 1774.

THE request made in your last letter is so very just and reasonable, that I shall comply with it very readily. It has long appeared to me, that you much exceeded the bounds of morality in the methods you pursued for the advancement of the supposed interests of America. If it can be proved, that I have unjustly suspected you, I shall acknowledge my error, with as much satisfaction as you can have in reading my recantation of it. As to the case more immediately re-

ferred to in your letters, I was repeatedly informed that you had solicited the late Mr. George Grenville for a place or agency in the distribution of stamps in America. From which circumstance I myself concluded, that you had made interest for it on your own account: whereas I am now informed, there are no positive proofs of your having solicited to obtain such a place for yourself, but there is sufficient evidence still existing of your having applied for it in favor of another person. If this latter should prove to be the fact, as I am assured it will, I am willing to suppose, from several expressions in both your letters, that you will readily acknowledge, that the difference in this case between yourself and your friend, is very immaterial to the general merits of the question. But if you should have distinctions in this case, which are above my comprehension, I shall content myself with observing, that your great abilities and happy discoveries deserve universal regard; and that as on these accounts I esteem and respect you, so I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

J. TUCKER.

To Dean Tucker.

REVEREND SIR,

London, Feb. 26, 1774.

I THANK you for the frankness with which you communicated to me the particulars of the information you had received relating to my supposed application to Mr. Grenville for a place in the American stamp office. As I deny that either your former or latter informations are true, it seems incumbent on me, for your satisfaction, to relate all the circumstances fairly to you that could possibly give rise to such mistakes.

Some days after the stamp act was passed, to which I had given all the opposition I could, with Mr. Grenville, I received a note from Mr. Whately, his secretary, desiring to see me the next morning. I waited upon him accordingly, and found with him several colony agents. He acquainted us that Mr. Grenville was desirous to make the execution of the

act as little inconvenient and disagreeable to America as possible; and therefore did not think of sending stamp officers from this country, but wished to have discreet and reputable persons appointed in each province from among the inhabitants, such as would be acceptable to them; for as they were to pay the tax, he thought strangers should not have the emolument. Mr. Whately therefore wished us to name for our respective colonies, informing us that Mr. Grenville would be obliged to us for pointing out to him honest and responsible men, and would pay great regard to our nominations. By this plausible and apparently candid declaration, we were drawn in to nominate; and I named for our province Mr. Hughes, saying at the same time, that I knew not whether he would accept of it, but if he did, I was sure he would execute the office faithfully (I soon after had notice of his appointment.) We none of us, I believe, foresaw or imagined that this compliance with the request of the minister, would or could have been called an *application* of ours, and adduced as a proof of our *approbation* of the act we had been opposing; otherwise I think few of us would have named at all—I am sure I should not. This I assure you, and can prove to you by living evidence, is a true account of the transaction in question, which if you compare with that you have been induced to give of it in your book, I am persuaded you will see a *difference* that is far from being “*a distinction above your comprehension.*”

Permit me further to remark, that your expression of there being “no *positive proofs* of my having solicited to obtain such a place *for myself*,” implies that there are nevertheless some *circumstantial* proofs, sufficient at least to support a suspicion; the latter part however of the same sentence, which says, “there are sufficient evidence still existing of my having *applied for it* in favor of another person,” must, I apprehend, if credited, destroy that suspicion, and be considered as *positive* proof of the contrary; for, if I had interest enough with Mr. Grenville to obtain that place for another, is it likely that it would have been refused me, had I asked it for myself?

There is another circumstance which I would offer to your candid consideration. You describe me as “changing sides, and appearing at the bar of the house of commons to cry down the very measure I had espoused, and direct the storm that was falling upon that minister.” As this must have been after my supposed solicitation of the favor for myself or my friend; and Mr. Grenville and Mr. Whately were both in the house at the time, and both asked me questions, can it be conceived that offended as they must have been with such a conduct in me, neither of them should put me in mind of this my sudden changing of sides, or remark it to the house, or reproach me with it, or require my reasons for it? and yet all the members then present know that not a syllable of the kind fell from either of them, or from any of their party.

I persuade myself, that by this time you begin to suspect you may have been misled by your informers. I do not ask who they are, because I do not wish to have particular motives for disliking people, who in general may deserve my respect. They too may have drawn *consequences* beyond the information they received from others, and hearing the office had been *given* to a person of my nomination, might as naturally suppose *I had solicited it*; as Dr. Tucker, hearing that *I had solicited it*, might “conclude” it was for myself.

I desire you to believe that I take kindly, as I ought, your freely mentioning to me “that it has long appeared to you, that I much exceeded the bounds of morality in the methods I pursued for the advancement of the supposed interests of America.” I am sensible there is a good deal of truth in the adage that *our sins and our debts are always more than we take them to be*; and though I cannot at present, on examination of my conscience, charge myself with any immorality of that kind, it becomes me to suspect that what has *long appeared* to you may have some foundation. You are so good as to add that “if it can be proved you have unjustly suspected me, you shall have a satisfaction in acknowledging the error.” It is often a thing hard to *prove*, that suspicions are

unjust, even when we know what they are; and harder when we are unacquainted with them. I must presume, therefore, that in mentioning them you had an intention of communicating the grounds of them to me, if I should request it, which I now do, and, I assure you, with a sincere desire and design of amending what you may show me to have been wrong in my conduct, and to thank you for the admonition.

In your writings I *appear* a bad man; but if I am such, and you can thus help me to become *in reality* a good one, I shall esteem it more than a sufficient reparation to, reverend sir, your most obedient humble servant, **B. FRANKLIN.**

[Note by Dr. Franklin, on the rough draft of the foregoing letter.]

Feb. 7, 1775. No answer has been received to the above letter. **B. F.**

From the preceding correspondence, it is fully evident, that this *reverend divine* was not willing to acknowledge, or even find that he had *substantially* erred in regard to Dr. Franklin. His prejudices indeed, appear to have been so deeply rooted, and his desire to do justice to one whom he had wronged, appears to have been so dormant, that he betrays an evident disinclination to ascertain the truth, or *allow it to approach him*, in opposition to these prejudices. With other more equitable dispositions, it would have been impossible for the dean to abstain so pertinaciously from giving any answer to Dr. Franklin's last letter. The facts and explanations which it contained were so important, and they were stated with so much candor and civility, that the dean must have felt it to be highly incumbent on him, either to meet those facts by others equally conclusive, or to acknowledge that he had wrongfully accused Dr. Franklin. The former he *could* not do, the latter he *would* not. The only expedient then remaining, was the unworthy and evasive one of *giving no answer!*

But to return to objects of more public interest. All the expectations that Dr. Franklin had entertained from the good character and disposition of the present minister, lord Dartmouth, in favor of America, began to wither: none of the measures of his predecessor had even been attempted to be changed, but on the contrary new ones had been continually added, further to exasperate the colonies, render them desperate, and drive them into open rebellion.

In a paper written by Dr. Franklin, "*On the rise and progress of the differences between Great Britain and her American colonies,*" and supposed to have been published about this time (1774,) he states, that soon after the late war, it became an object with the British ministers to draw a revenue from America: the first attempt was by a stamp act. It soon appeared, that this step had not been well considered; and that the rights, the ability, the opinions, and temper of that great and growing people, had not been sufficiently attended to. They complained, that the tax was *unnecessary*, because their assemblies had ever been ready to make voluntary grants to the crown in proportion to their abilities, when duly required so to do; and *unjust*, because they had no representative in the British parliament, but had parliaments of their own, wherein their consent was given, as it *ought to be*, in grants of their own money.^k

^k The following arguments on this point were published at the time by an English friend of Dr. Franklin.

1st, The insufficiency of the argument, asserting their being virtually represented, as compared with the unincorporate towns in England, has been already exploded in the letter signed *Amor Patriæ*, inserted in the *Gazetteer*, 1st of January last; viz. "The inhabitants of such towns being many of them doubtless legal electors of county members; and otherwise the rest have, by their neighborhood to, and connection with, legal voters of the vicinage, opportunity of acquiring the means of giving instruction to, and influencing the conduct of, not only their proper county members, but those who represent neighboring boroughs also; and the future elections of such members will always in some measure depend on the influence of even many of those who have no legal votes themselves; so have they a strong check on their conduct, which is not the case with

The parliament repealed the act as inexpedient, but in another asserted a *right* of taxing the colonies, and binding

the Americans, in respect of any one member in the whole house, not a man of them depending on the colonists for his seat in parliament, or for their instructions."

2dly, Another evident reason why the colonies cannot be justly deemed virtually represented, and in consequence thereof, subjected to internal taxation, imposed by parliament, and why they, the colonies, cannot be justly compared with such towns in Great Britain, is because the parliament of Great Britain cannot impose any internal tax on the inhabitants of such towns, but that in so doing they and every member thereof would by the same act tax themselves also in the same proportion, which is a very good security in favor of such towns and other non-electors in Great Britain; but which very good security the colonies in their present state are entirely destitute of, insomuch that if they were now to acknowledge a right in the parliament so to tax them (although in the present case a very small sum) without their previous or concurrent consent, in the present mode of things there is no line drawn that bounds that right, but that the same parliament might (after so dangerous a precedent once adopted) call for any part of their remaining fortunes whenever they pleased so to do, without any other restraint than the mercy and benevolence of (in such case) an arbitrary power over them, and they the colonists might every year after be in danger of hearing of a law (made in Great Britain some months before, and wherein they had no opportunity of pleading for themselves, or of giving their previous or concurrent consent or dissent), which law might, for any other security they could rely on in the present mode of things, take away a quarter, a half, or a larger part of their estates, without a line of any kind of limitation other than the will and power of a parliament, in such case, despotic over their whole fortunes, without their concurrence or co-operation, which it appears would be arbitrary in the strongest point of light.

3dly, It therefore appears a fair and necessary conclusion, that Great Britain must in point of equity and the just rights of the colonists as Englishmen, either for ever exempt them from, or never demand any internal taxes at all, or else a right of representation in parliament must be granted them: which last appears evidently a very salutary measure, as necessary to prevent divisions and misunderstandings, and above all to prevent the danger of our enemies thereby in future, as soon as recruited and able, taking advantage thereof (and perhaps sowing the seeds thereof) in order to disunite and weaken this otherwise potent empire, which being properly united, they our enemies do and will look on with envy, and may they do so, but utterly in vain, and that for evermore is my hearty desire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

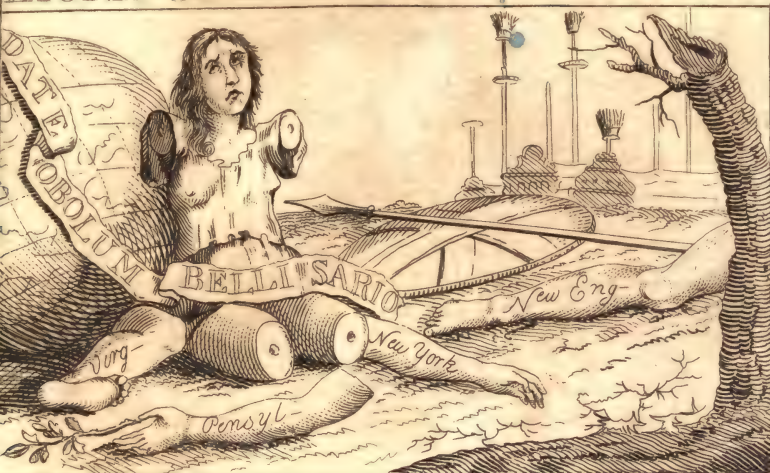
them in all cases whatsoever! In the following year they laid duties on British manufactures exported to America. On the repeal of the stamp act, the Americans had returned to their wonted good humor and commerce with Great Britain; but this new act for laying duties renewed their uneasiness. These and other grievances complained of by the colonies are succinctly enumerated in Dr. Franklin's paper abovementioned; and the progressive history of the causes of the American discontents in general.

The whole continent of America now began to consider the Boston port bill, as striking essentially at the liberty of *all* the colonies; and these sentiments were strongly urged and propagated in the American newspapers.

Even those colonies which depended most upon the mother country for the consumption of their productions, entered into associations with the others; and nothing was to be heard of but resolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home products, the discouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all superfluities.

Virginia resolved not to raise any more tobacco, unless the grievances of America were redressed. Maryland followed that example: Pennsylvania, and almost all the other colonies, entered into resolutions in the same spirit, with a view to enforce a general redress of grievances.

During these disputes between the two countries, Dr. Franklin invented a little *emblematical design*, intended to represent the supposed state of Great Britain and her colonies, should the former persist in her oppressive measures, restraining the latter's trade, and taxing their people by laws made by a legislature in which they were not represented. It was engraved on a copper-plate, from which the annexed is a fac simile. Dr. Franklin had many of them struck off on cards, on the back of which he occasionally wrote his notes. It was also printed on a half sheet of paper, with the *explanation* and *moral* which follow it.



EXPLANATION.

GREAT BRITAIN is supposed to have been placed upon the globe ; but the COLONIES, (that is, her limbs,) being severed from her, she is seen lifting her eyes and mangled stumps to heaven : her shield, which she is unable to wield, lies useless by her side ; her lance has pierced *New England* : the laurel branch has fallen from the hand of *Pennsylvania* : the English oak has lost its head, and stands a bare trunk, with a few withered branches ; briars and thorns are on the ground beneath it ; the British ships have brooms at their topmast heads, denoting their being on sale ; and BRITANNIA herself is seen sliding off the world, (no longer able to hold its balance) her fragments overspread with the label, DATE OBOLUM BELLISARIO.

THE MORAL.

History affords us many instances of the ruin of states, by the prosecution of measures ill suited to the temper and genius of their people. The ordaining of laws in favor of *one* part of the nation, to the prejudice and oppression of *another*, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. An *equal* dispensation of protection, rights, privileges, and advantages, is what every part is entitled to, and ought to enjoy ; it being a matter of no moment to the state, whether a subject grows rich and flourishing on the Thames or the Ohio, in Edinburgh or Dublin. These measures never fail to create great and violent jealousies and animosities between the people favored and the people oppressed : whence a total separation of affections, interests, political obligations, and all manner of connections, necessarily ensue, by which the whole state is weakened, and perhaps ruined for ever !



These sentiments, applied to the picture which they are annexed to, were well calculated to produce reflection; they form part of the same system of political ethics, with the following fragment of a sentence, which Dr. Franklin inserted in a political publication of one of his friends:—"The attempts to establish *arbitrary power* over so great a part of the British empire, are to the imminent hazard of our most valuable commerce, and of that national strength, security, and felicity, which depend on *union* and *liberty*;"—The preservation of which, he used to say, "had been the great object and labor of his life; the **WHOLE** being such a thing as *the world before never saw!*"

In June, 1774, a general congress of deputies from all the colonies, began to be universally looked forward to. This had a year before been suggested by Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Thomas Cushing, dated July 7, 1773, in which he says,—“But as the strength of an empire depends not only on the *union* of its parts, but on their *readiness* for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as, likewise, the refusal of one or a few colonies, would not be so much regarded if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various artifices and motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress, that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a **GENERAL CONGRESS**, now in peace to be assembled, (or by means of the correspondence lately proposed,) after a full and solemn *assertion and declaration of their RIGHTS*, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognised by the king and both houses of parliament; communicating to the crown this their resolution. Such a step, I imagine, will bring the dispute to a crisis; and whether our demands are immediately complied with, or compulsory measures thought

of to make us rescind them, our ends will finally be obtained; for even the odium accompanying such compulsory attempts, will contribute to unite and strengthen us; and, in the mean time, all the world will allow that our proceeding has been honorable."

Such had been the advice of Dr. Franklin; and, as he observes somewhere, "*a good motion never dies*," so this was eventually acted upon in all its bearings, and was the first step to the union of the colonies, and their final emancipation from Great Britain.

The first congress assembled at Philadelphia, September 17, 1774. Their first public act was a declaratory resolution, expressive of their disposition with respect to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people in their opposition to the oppressive acts of the British parliament. This, and other analogous resolutions relative to Massachusetts, being passed, the congress wrote a letter to general Gage, governor and commander of the king's troops in that province, in which, after repeating the complaints formerly made by the town of Boston, they declared the determined resolution of the colonies to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of Massachusetts were oppressed; that the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern that whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even the oppressive acts complained of did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate, and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavors of the congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a civil war.

The congress also published a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, to which they asserted the English colonies of North America were entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to the king, a memorial to the people of Great Britain, an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec.

These several acts were drawn up with uncommon energy, address, and ability: they well deserve the attention of statesmen, and are to be found in the annals of American history.

The petition to his majesty contained an enumeration of the grievances of the colonies, humbly praying redress. It was forwarded to England, by the secretary of congress, (Charles Thomson), under cover to Dr. Franklin. The proceedings thereon, as a document of great interest, will be inserted in another part of this edition, and will be circumstantially noticed in the progress of these memoirs.

Dr. Franklin, at this momentous period, was unceasing in his endeavors to induce the British government to change its measures with respect to the colonies. In private conversations, in letters to persons connected with government, and in writings in the public prints, he continually expatiated upon the *impolicy* and *injustice* of its conduct towards America; and stated, in the most energetic manner, that notwithstanding the sincere attachment of the colonists to the mother country, a continuance of ill treatment must ultimately alienate their affections. The ministers listened not to his advice, and solemn warnings; they blindly persevered in their own schemes, and left to the Americans no alternative but opposition, or unconditional submission. The latter accorded not with the principles of freedom which they had been taught to revere; to the former they were compelled, though reluctantly, to have recourse.

Dr. Franklin, thus finding all his efforts to restore harmony between Great Britain and her colonies ineffectual; and

being looked upon by government with a jealous eye, who, it was said, entertained some thoughts of arresting him, under the pretence of his having fomented a rebellion in the colonies, (of which he received private intimation,) determined on immediately returning to America, and to this effect embarked from England in March, 1775.

During the passage, he committed to paper a memorable and lasting monument of his noble efforts *to effect a reconciliation, and prevent a breach between Great Britain and her colonies* (contrary to the insidious accusations of his enemies.) This was a relation of the negotiations he had latterly been concerned in, to bring about so desirable an object, and one he had so much at heart. This, like the first part of these memoirs, was addressed to his son, governor Franklin; and intended, no doubt, to be incorporated in them, had he lived to proceed so far in his history. It forms a complement to his political transactions while in England, fully justifies and exalts his character, and is a document of no mean interest in the annals of the American revolution. From these considerations, the editor conceives he should be inexcusable in suppressing, new modelling, or curtailing so valuable a tract; but on the contrary, has great satisfaction, as will no doubt the reader, that Dr. Franklin again resumes the pen in a further continuation of these memoirs.

*On board the Pennsylvania Packet, Capt. Osborne,
bound to Philadelphia, March 22, 1775.*

DEAR SON,

HAVING now a little leisure for writing, I will endeavor, as I promised you, to recollect what particulars I can of the negotiations I have lately been concerned in, with regard to the *misunderstandings between Great Britain and America.*

During the recess of the last parliament, which had passed the severe acts against the province of the Massachusetts Bay, the minority having been sensible of their weakness as an effect of their want of union among themselves, began to

think seriously of a coalition. For they saw in the violence of these American measures, if persisted in, a hazard of dismembering, weakening, and perhaps ruining the British empire. This inclined some of them to propose such an union with each other, as might be more respectable in the ensuing session, have more weight in opposition, and be a body out of which a new ministry might easily be formed, should the ill success of the late measures, and the firmness of the colonies in resisting them, make a change appear necessary to the king.

I took some pains to promote this disposition, in conversation with several of the principal among the minority of both houses, whom I besought and conjured most earnestly, not to suffer, by their little misunderstandings, so glorious a fabric as the present British empire to be demolished by these blunders; and for their encouragement assured them, as far as my opinions could give any assurance, of the *firmness* and *unanimity* of America, the continuance of which was what they had frequent doubts of, and appeared extremely apprehensive and anxious concerning it.

From the time of the affront given me at the council board in January, 1774,¹ I had never attended the levee of any minister. I made no justification of myself from the charges brought against me: I made no return of the injury by abusing my adversaries; but held a cool sullen silence, reserving myself to some future opportunity; for which conduct I had several reasons, not necessary here to specify. Now and then I heard it said, that the reasonable part of the administration was ashamed of the treatment they had given me. I suspected, that some who told me this, did it to draw from me my sentiments concerning it, and perhaps my purposes; but I said little or nothing upon the subject. In the mean time, their measures with regard to New England failing of the success that had been confidently expected, and finding themselves more and more embarrassed, they began (as it seems)

¹ See Examination, Vol. IV. p. 109 of this edition.

to think of making use of me, if they could, to assist in disengaging them. But it was too humiliating to think of applying to me openly and directly, and therefore it was contrived to obtain what they could of my sentiments through others.

The accounts from America, during the recess, all manifested, that the measures of administration had neither divided nor intimidated the people there; that on the contrary they were more and more united and determined; and that a non-importation agreement was likely to take place. The ministry thence apprehending that this, by distressing the trading and manufacturing towns, might influence votes against the court in the elections for a new parliament, (which were in course to come on the succeeding year,) suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved the old one, and ordered the choice of a new one within the shortest time admitted by law, before the inconveniencies of that agreement could begin to be felt, or produce any such effect.

When I came to England in 1757, you may remember I made several attempts to be introduced to lord Chatham, (at that time first minister) on account of my Pennsylvania business, but without success. He was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of greater moment. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a kind of non-apparent and un-acknowledged communication through Mr. Potter and Mr. Wood, his secretaries, who seemed to cultivate an acquaintance with me by their civilities, and drew from me what information I could give relative to the American war, with my sentiments occasionally on measures that were proposed or advised by others, which gave me the opportunity of recommending and enforcing the utility of conquering Canada. I afterwards considered Mr. Pitt as an *inaccessible*; I admired him at a distance, and made no more attempts for a nearer acquaintance. I had only once or twice the satisfaction of hearing, through lord Shelburne, and I think lord Stanhope, that he did me the honor of mentioning me sometimes as a person of respectable character.

But towards the end of August last, returning from Bright-helmstone, I called to visit my friend Mr. Sargent, at his seat, Halsted, in Kent, agreeably to a former engagement. He let me know, that he had promised to conduct me to lord Stanhope's at Chevening, who expected I would call on him when I came into that neighborhood. We accordingly waited on lord Stanhope that evening, who told me that lord Chatham desired to see me, and that Mr. Sargent's house, where I was to lodge, being in the way, he would call for me there the next morning, and carry me to Hayes. This was done accordingly. That truly great man received me with abundance of civility, inquired particularly into the situation of affairs in America, spoke feelingly of the severity of the late laws against the Massachusetts, gave me some account of his speech in opposing them, and expressed great regard and esteem for the people of that country, who he hoped would continue firm and united in defending by all peaceable and legal means their constitutional rights. I assured him, that I made no doubt they would do so; which he said he was pleased to hear from me, as he was sensible I must be well acquainted with them. I then took occasion to remark to him, that in former cases great empires had crumbled first at their extremities, from this cause—that countries remote from the seat and eye of government, which therefore could not well understand their affairs, for want of full and true information, had never been well governed, but had been oppressed by bad governors, on presumption that complaint was difficult to be made and supported against them at such a distance: hence, such governors had been encouraged to go on, till their oppressions became intolerable: but that this empire had happily found and long been in the practice of a method, whereby every province was well governed, being trusted in a great measure with the government of itself, that hence had risen such satisfaction in the subjects, and such encouragement to new settlements, that had it not been for the late wrong politics, (which would have parliament to be *omnipotent*, though it ought not to be, unless it could at the

same time be *omniscient*,) we might have gone on extending our western empire, adding province to province as far as the South Sea: that I lamented the ruin which seemed impending over so fine a plan, so well adapted to make all the subjects of the greatest empire happy; and I hoped, that if his lordship, with the other great and wise men of the British nation, would unite and exert themselves, it might yet be rescued out of the mangling hands of the present set of blundering ministers; and that the union and harmony between Britain and her colonies, so necessary to the welfare of both, might be restored.—He replied with great politeness, that my idea of extending our empire in that manner was a sound one, worthy of a great, benevolent, and comprehensive mind: he wished with me for a good understanding among the different parts of the opposition here, as a means of restoring the ancient harmony of the two countries, which he most earnestly desired; but he spoke of the coalition of our domestic parties as attended with difficulty, and rather to be desired than expected: he mentioned an opinion prevailing here, that America aimed at setting up for itself as an *independent state*; or, at least, to get rid of the *navigation acts*.—I assured him, that having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America: and as to the navigation act, the main material part of it, that of carrying on trade in British or plantation bottoms, excluding foreign ships from our ports, and navigating with three quarters British seamen, was as acceptable to us as it could be to Britain: that we were even not against regulations of the general commerce by parliament, provided such regulations were *bona fide* for the benefit of the *whole empire*, not for the small advantage of one part to the great injury of another, such as the obliging our ships to call in England with our wine and fruit, from Portugal or

Spain; the restraints on our manufactures, in the woollen and hat-making branches, the prohibiting of slitting-mills, steel-works, &c. He allowed that some amendment might be made in those acts; but said those relating to the slitting-mills, trip-hammers, and steel-works, were agreed to by our agents in a compromise on the opposition made here to abating the duty.

In fine, he expressed much satisfaction in my having called upon him, and particularly in the assurances I had given him, that America did not aim at *independence*; adding, that he should be glad to see me again as often as might be. I said, I should not fail to avail myself of the permission he was pleased to give me, of waiting upon his lordship occasionally, being very sensible of the honor, and of the great advantages and improvement I should reap from his instructive conversation; which indeed was not a mere compliment.

The new parliament was to meet the 29th of November, (1774). About the beginning of that month, being at the Royal Society, Mr. Raper, one of our members, told me there was a certain lady who had a desire of playing with me at chess, fancying she could beat me, and had requested him to bring me to her: it was, he said, a lady with whose acquaintance he was sure I should be pleased, a sister of lord Howe's, and he hoped I would not refuse the challenge. I said, I had been long out of practice, but would wait upon the lady when he and she should think fit. He told me where her house was, and would have me call soon and without further introduction, which I undertook to do; but thinking it a little awkward, I postponed it; and on the 30th, meeting him again at the feast of the society election, being the day after the parliament met, he put me in mind of my promise, and that I had not kept it, and would have me name a day when he said he would call for me and conduct me. I named the Friday following. He called accordingly: I went with him, played a few games with the lady, whom I found of very sensible conversation and pleasing behavior, which induced me to agree most readily to an appointment for another meeting

a few days afterwards: though I had not the least apprehension that any political business could have any connection with this new acquaintance.

On the Thursday preceding this chess party, Mr. David Barclay called on me, to have some discourse concerning the meeting of merchants to petition parliament. When that was over, he spoke of the dangerous situation of American affairs, the hazard that a civil war might be brought on by the present measures, and the great merit that person would have who could contrive some means of preventing so terrible a calamity, and bring about a reconciliation. He was then pleased to add, that he was persuaded, from my knowledge of both countries, my character and influence in one of them, and my abilities in business, no man had it so much in his power as myself. I naturally answered, that I should be very happy if I could in any degree be instrumental in so good a work, but that I saw no prospect of it; for, though I was sure the Americans were always willing and ready to agree upon any equitable terms, yet I thought an accommodation impracticable, unless both sides wished it; and by what I could judge from the proceedings of the ministry, I did not believe they had the least disposition towards it; that they rather wished to provoke the North American people into an open rebellion, which might justify a military execution, and thereby gratify a grounded malice which I conceived to exist here against the whigs and dissenters of that country. Mr. Barclay apprehended I judged too hardly of the ministers; he was persuaded they were not all of that temper, and he fancied they would be very glad to get out of their present embarrassment on any terms, only saving the honor and dignity of government. He wished, therefore, that I would think of the matter, and he would call again and converse with me further upon it. I said I would do so, as he requested it, but I had no opinion of its answering any purpose. We parted upon this. But two days after I received a letter from him, inclosed in a note from Dr. Fothergill, both which follow.

Youngsbury, near Ware, 3d 12 mo. 1774.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

AFTER we parted on Thursday last, I accidentally met our mutual friend Dr. Fothergill, in my way home, and intimated to him the subject of our discourse; in consequence of which, I received from him an invitation to a further conference on this momentous affair, and I intend to be in town to-morrow accordingly, to meet at his house between four and five o'clock; and we unite in the request of thy company. We are neither of us insensible, that the affair is of that *magnitude* as should almost deter private persons from meddling with it; at the same time we are respectively such well-wishers to the cause, that nothing in our power ought to be left undone, though the utmost of our efforts may be unavailable. I am thy respectful friend, **DAVID BARCLAY.**

Dr. Franklin, Craven street.

DR. FOTHERGILL presents his respects to Dr. Franklin, and hopes for the favor of his company in Harper street to morrow evening, to meet their mutual friend David Barclay, to confer on American affairs. As near five o'clock as may be convenient.

Harper street, 3d inst.

The time thus appointed was the evening of the day on which I was to have my second chess party with the agreeable Mrs. Howe, whom I met accordingly. After playing as long as we liked, we fell into a little chat, partly on a mathematical problem,^m and partly about the new parliament then just met, when she said, "And what is to be done with this dispute between Great Britain and the colonies? I hope we

^m This lady (which is a little unusual in ladies,) has a good deal of mathematical knowledge.

[*Note of Dr. Franklin.*]

are not to have a civil war." They should kiss and be friends, said I; what can they do better? Quarrelling can be of service to neither, but is ruin to both. "I have often said," replied she, "that I wished government would employ you to settle the dispute for them; I am sure nobody could do it so well. Do not you think that the thing is practicable?" Undoubtedly, madam, if the parties are disposed to reconciliation; for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of punctillio, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour. I thank you for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me; but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work; they chuse rather to abuse me. "Aye," said she, "they have behaved shamefully to you. And indeed some of them are now ashamed of it themselves.".....I looked upon this as accidental conversation, thought no more of it, and went in the evening to the appointed meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, where I found Mr. Barclay with him.

The doctor expatiated feelingly on the mischiefs likely to ensue from the present difference, the necessity of accommodating it, and the great merit of being instrumental in so good a work; concluding with some compliments to me; that nobody understood the subject so thoroughly, and had a better head for business of the kind; that it seemed therefore a duty incumbent on me, to do every thing I could to accomplish a reconciliation; and that as he had with pleasure heard from David Barclay, that I had promised to think of it, he hoped I had put pen to paper, and formed some plan for consideration, and brought it with me. I answered, that I had formed no plan; as the more I thought of the proceedings against the colonies, the more satisfied I was that there did not exist the least disposition in the ministry to an accommodation; that therefore all plans must be useless. He said, I might be mistaken; that whatever was the violence of some, he had reason, *good reason*, to believe others were differently disposed; and that if I would draw a plan which we three upon considering should judge reasonable, it might be made use of, and

answer some good purpose, since he believed that either himself or David Barclay could get it communicated to some of the most moderate among the ministers, who would consider it with attention; and what appeared reasonable to us, two of us being Englishmen, might appear so to them. As they both urged this with great earnestness, and when I mentioned the impropriety of my doing any thing of the kind at the time we were in daily expectation of hearing from the congress, who undoubtedly would be explicit on the means of restoring a good understanding, they seemed impatient, alleging that it was uncertain when we should receive the result of the congress, and what it would be; that the least delay might be dangerous; that additional punishments for New England were in contemplation, and accidents might widen the breach, and make it irreparable; therefore, something preventive could not be too soon thought of and applied. I was, therefore, finally prevailed with to promise doing what they desired, and to meet them again on Tuesday evening at the same place, and bring with me something for their consideration.

Accordingly, at the time, I met with them, and produced the following paper.

HINTS FOR CONVERSATION

Upon the subject of terms that might probably produce a durable union between Britain and the colonies.

1. The tea destroyed to be paid for.
2. The tea-duty act to be repealed, and all the duties that have been received upon it to be repaid into the treasuries of the several provinces from which they have been collected.
3. The acts of navigation to be all re-enacted in the colonies.
4. A naval officer appointed by the crown to reside in each colony, to see that those acts are observed.
5. All the acts restraining manufactures in the colonies, to be repealed.
6. All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies,

and paid into their treasuries. The collectors and custom-house officers to be appointed by each governor, and not sent from England.

7. In consideration of the Americans maintaining their own peace establishment, and the monopoly Britain is to have of their commerce, no requisition to be made from them in time of peace.

8. No troops to enter and quarter in any colony, but with the consent of its legislature.

9. In time of war, on requisition made by the king, with the consent of parliament, every colony shall raise money by the following rules or proportions, viz. If Britain, on account of the war, raises 3s. in the pound to its land tax, then the colonies to add to their last general provincial peace tax a sum equal to one-fourth thereof; and if Britain on the same account pays 4s. in the pound, then the colonies to add to their said last peace tax a sum equal to half thereof; which additional tax is to be granted to his majesty, and to be employed in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or for such other purposes as the king shall require and direct: and though no colony may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary grant as they shall think proper.

10. Castle William to be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and no fortress built by the crown in any province, but with the consent of its legislature.

11. The late Massachusetts and Quebec acts to be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada.

12. All judges to be appointed during good behavior, with equally permanent salaries, to be paid out of the province revenues by appointment of the assemblies: or, if the judges are to be appointed during the pleasure of the crown, let the salaries be during the pleasure of the assemblies, as heretofore.

13. Governors to be supported by the assemblies of each province.

14. If Britain will give up its monopoly of the American commerce, then the aid abovementioned to be given by America in time of peace, as well as in time of war.

15. The extension of the act of Henry VIII., concerning treasons, to the colonies, to be formally disowned by parliament.

16. The American admiralty-courts reduced to the same powers they have in England, and the acts establishing them to be re-enacted in America.

17. All powers of internal legislation in the colonies to be disclaimed by parliament.

In reading this paper a second time, I gave my reasons at length for each article.

On the *first* I observed, that when the injury was done, Britain had a right to *reparation*, and would certainly have had it on demand, as was the case when injury was done by mobs in the time of the stamp act: or she might have a right to return an equal injury, if she rather chose to do that; but she could not have a right *both* to *reparation* and to return an *equal injury*, much less had she a right to return the injury ten or twenty fold, as she had done by blocking up the port of Boston: all which extra injury ought, in my judgment, to be repaired by Britain: that therefore if paying for the tea was agreed to by me, as an article fit to be proposed, it was merely from a desire of peace, and in compliance with their opinion expressed at our first meeting, that this was a *sine qua non*, that the dignity of Britain required it, and that if this were agreed to, every thing else would be easy: this reasoning was allowed to be just; but still the article was thought necessary to stand as it did.

On the 2d, That the act should be repealed, as having never answered any good purpose, as having been the cause of the present mischief, and never likely to be executed. That the act being considered as unconstitutional by the Americans, and what the parliament had no right to make, they

must consider all the money *extorted* by it as so much wrongfully taken, and of which therefore restitution ought to be made; and the rather as it would furnish a fund, out of which the payment for the tea destroyed might best be defrayed. The gentlemen were of opinion, that the first part of this article, viz. the repeal, might be obtained, but not the refunding part, and therefore advised striking that out: but as I thought it just and right, I insisted on its standing.

On the 3d and 4th articles I observed, we were frequently charged with views of abolishing the navigation act. That, in truth, those parts of it which were of most importance to Britain, as tending to increase its naval strength, viz. those restraining the trade, to be carried on only in ships belonging to British subjects, navigated by at least three quarters British or colony seamen, &c., were as acceptable to us as they could be to Britain, since we wished to employ our own ships in preference to foreigners, and had no desire to see foreign ships enter our ports. That indeed the obliging us to land some of our commodities in England before we could carry them to foreign markets, and forbidding our importation of some goods directly from foreign countries, we thought a hardship, and a greater loss to us than gain to Britain, and therefore proper to be repealed: but as Britain had deemed it an equivalent for her protection, we had never applied or proposed to apply for such repeal; and if they must be continued, I thought it best (since the power of parliament to make them was now disputed) that they should be re-enacted in all the colonies, which would demonstrate their consent to them: and then if, as in the sixth article, all the duties arising on them were to be collected by officers appointed and salaried in the respective governments, and the produce paid into their treasuries, I was sure the acts would be better and more faithfully executed, and at much less expense, and one great source of misunderstanding removed between the two countries, viz. the calumnies of low officers appointed from home, who were for ever abusing the people of the country to government, to magnify their own zeal,

and recommend themselves to promotion. That the extension of the admiralty jurisdiction, so much complained of, would then no longer be necessary; and that besides its being the interest of the colonies to execute those acts, which is the best security, government might be satisfied of its being done, from accounts to be sent home by the naval officers of the 4th article. The gentlemen were satisfied with these reasons, and approved the 3d and 4th articles; so they were to stand.

The 5th they apprehended would meet with difficulty. They said, that restraining manufactures in the colonies was a favorite idea here; and therefore they wished that article to be omitted, as the proposing it would alarm and hinder perhaps the considering and granting others of more importance: but as I insisted on the equity of allowing all subjects in every country to make the most of their natural advantages, they desired I would at least alter the last word from *repealed* to *reconsidered*, which I complied with.

In maintaining the 7th article (which was at first objected to, on the principle that all under the care of government should pay towards the support of it,) my reasons were, that if every distinct part of the king's dominions supported its own government in time of peace, it was all that could justly be required of it; that all the old or confederated colonies had done so from their beginning; that their taxes for that purpose were very considerable; that new countries had many public expenses which old ones were free from, the works being done to their hands by their ancestors, such as making roads and bridges, erecting churches, court-houses, forts, quays, and other public buildings, founding schools and places of education, hospitals and alms-houses, &c. &c.; that the voluntary and the legal subscriptions and taxes for such purposes, taken together, amounted to more than was paid by equal estates in Britain. That it would be best for Britain, on two accounts, not to take money from us as contribution to its public expense, in time of peace; first, for that just so much less would be got from us in commerce, since all we could spare was already gained from us by Britain in that

way; and secondly, that coming into the hands of British ministers, accustomed to prodigality of public money, it would be squandered and dissipated, answering no good general purpose. That if we were to be taxed towards the support of government in Britain, as Scotland has been since the union, we ought then to be allowed the same privileges in trade as she has been allowed. That if we are called upon to give to the sinking fund or the national debt, Ireland ought to be likewise called upon; and both they and we, if we gave, ought to have some means established of inquiring into the application, and securing a compliance with the terms on which we should grant. That British ministers would perhaps not like our meddling with such matters; and that hence might arise new causes of misunderstanding. That upon the whole, therefore, I thought it best on all sides, that no aids shall be asked or expected from the colonies in time of peace; that it would then be their interest to grant bountifully, and exert themselves vigorously in time of war, the sooner to put an end to it. That specie was not to be had to send to England in supplies, but the colonies could carry on war with their own paper money; which would pay troops, and for provisions, transports, carriages, clothing, arms, &c. So this 7th article was at length agreed to without further objection.

The 8th the gentlemen were confident would never be granted. For the whole world would be of opinion that the king, who is to defend all parts of his dominions, should have of course a right to place his troops where they might best answer that purpose. I supported the article upon principles equally important in my opinion to Britain as to the colonies: for that if the king could bring into one part of his dominions, troops raised in any other part of them, without the consent of the legislatures of the part to which they were brought, he might bring armies raised in America into England without consent of parliament, which probably would not like it, as a few years since they had not liked the introduction of the Hessians and Hanoverians, though justified by the supposition of its being a time of danger. That if there

should be at any time real occasion for British troops in America, there was no doubt of obtaining the consent of the assemblies there; and I was so far from being willing to drop this article, that I thought I ought to add another, requiring all the present troops to be withdrawn, before America could be expected to treat or agree upon any terms of accommodation; as what they should now do of that kind might be deemed the effect of compulsion, the appearance of which, ought as much as possible to be avoided, since those reasonable things might be agreed to, where the parties seemed at least to act freely, which would be strongly refused under threats, or the semblance of force. That the withdrawing the troops was therefore necessary to make any treaty durably binding on the part of the Americans, since proof of having acted under force, would invalidate any agreement: and it could be no wonder that we should insist on the crown's having no right to bring a standing army among us in time of peace; when we saw now before our eyes a striking instance of the ill use to be made of it, viz. to distress the king's subjects in different parts of his dominions, one part after the other, into a submission to arbitrary power, which was the avowed design of the army and fleet now placed at Boston.....Finding me obstinate, the gentlemen consented to let this stand, but did not seem quite to approve of it: they wished, they said, to have this a paper or plan, that they might show as containing the sentiments of considerate impartial persons, and such as they might as Englishmen support, which they thought could not well be the case with this article.

The 9th article was so drawn, in compliance with an idea of Dr. Fothergill's, started at our first meeting, viz. that government here would probably not be satisfied with the promise of voluntary grants in time of war from the assemblies, of which the quantity must be uncertain; that therefore it would be best to proportion them in some way to the shillings in the pound raised in England; but how such proportion could

be ascertained he was at a loss to contrive; I was desired to consider it. It had been said, too, that parliament was become jealous of the right claimed and heretofore used by the crown, of raising money in the colonies without parliamentary consent; and therefore, since we would not pay parliamentary taxes, future requisitions must be made with consent of parliament, and not otherwise. I wondered that the crown should be willing to give up that separate right, but had no objection to its limiting itself, if it thought proper: so I drew the article accordingly, and contrived to proportion the aid by the tax of the last year of peace. And since it was thought that the method I should have liked best would never be agreed to, viz. a continental congress to be called by the crown, for answering requisitions and proportioning aids; I chose to leave room for voluntary additions by the separate assemblies, that the crown might have some motive for calling them together, and cultivating their good will, and they have some satisfaction in showing their loyalty and their zeal in the common cause, and an opportunity of manifesting their disapprobation of a war, if they did not think it a just one. This article therefore met with no objection from *them*; and I had another reason for liking it, viz. that the view of the proportion to be given in time of war, might make us the more frugal in time of peace.

For the 10th article, I urged the injustice of seizing that fortress, (which had been built at an immense charge by the province, for the defence of their port against national enemies) and turning it into a citadel for awing the town, restraining their trade, blocking up their port, and depriving them of their privileges: that a great deal had been said of their injustice in destroying the tea; but here was a much greater injustice uncompensated, that castle having cost the province three hundred thousand pounds: and that such a use made of a fortress they had built, would not only effectually discourage every colony from ever building another, and thereby leave them more exposed to foreign enemies, but was a good reason for their insisting that the crown should

never erect any hereafter in their limits without the consent of the legislature: the gentlemen had not much to say against this article; but thought it would hardly be admitted.

The 11th article it was thought would be strongly objected to; that it would be urged the old colonists could have nothing to do with the affairs of Canada, whatever we had with those of the Massachusetts; that it would be considered as an officious meddling merely to disturb government; and that some even of the Massachusetts acts were thought by administration to be improvements of that government, viz. those altering the appointment of counsellors, the choice of jury-men, and the forbidding of town meetings. I replied, that we having assisted in the conquest of Canada, at a great expense of blood and treasure, had some right to be considered in the settlement of it: that the establishing an arbitrary government on the back of our settlements might be dangerous to us all; and that loving liberty ourselves, we wished it to be extended among mankind, and to have no foundation for future slavery laid in America. That as to amending the Massachusetts government, though it might be shown that every one of these pretended amendments were real mischiefs, yet that charters being compacts between two parties, the king and the people, no alteration could be made in them, even for the better, but by the consent of both parties. That the parliament's claim and exercise of a power to alter our charters, which had always been deemed inviolable but for forfeiture, and to alter laws made in pursuance of these charters which had received the royal approbation, and thenceforth deemed fixed and unchangeable, but by the powers that made them, had rendered all our constitutions uncertain, and set us quite afloat: that as by claiming a right to tax us *ad libitum*, they deprived us of all property; so by this claim of altering our laws and charters at will, they deprived us of all privilege and right whatever, but what we should hold at their pleasure: that this was a situation we could not be in, and must risk life and every thing rather than submit to it :.....so this article remained.

The 12th article I explained, by acquainting the gentlemen with the former situation of the judges in most colonies, viz. that they were appointed by the crown, and paid by the assemblies: that the appointment being during the pleasure of the crown, the salary had been during the pleasure of the assembly: that when it has been urged against the assemblies, that their making judges dependant on them for their salaries, was aiming at an undue influence over the courts of justice; the assemblies usually replied, that making them dependant on the crown for continuance in their places, was also retaining an undue influence over those courts; and that one undue influence was a proper balance for the other; but that whenever the crown would consent to acts making the judges during *good behavior*, the assemblies would at the same time grant their salaries to be permanent during their continuance in office. This the crown has however constantly refused: and this equitable offer is now again here proposed; the colonies not being able to conceive why their judges should not be rendered as independent as those in England: that, on the contrary, the crown now claimed to make the judges in the colonies dependant on its favor for both place and salary, both to be continued at its pleasure: this the colonies must oppose as inequitable, as putting both the weights into one of the scales of justice: if therefore the crown does not chuse to commission the judges during good behavior, with equally permanent salaries, the alternative proposed, that the salaries continue to be paid during the pleasure of the assemblies as heretofore. The gentlemen allowed this article to be reasonable.

The 13th was objected to, as nothing was generally thought more reasonable here, than that the king should pay his own governor, in order to render him independent of the people, who otherwise might aim at influencing him against his duty, by occasionally withholding his salary. To this I answered, that governors sent to the colonies were often men of no estate or principle, who came merely to make fortunes, and had no natural regard for the country they were to govern: that to make them quite independent of the people, was to make

them careless of their conduct, whether it was beneficial or mischievous to the public, and giving a loose to their rapacious and oppressive dispositions: that the influence supposed could never extend to operate any thing prejudicial to the king's service, or the interest of Britain: since the governor was bound by a set of particular instructions, which he had given surety to observe; and all the laws he assented to were subject to be repealed by the crown if found improper: that the payment of the salaries by the people was more satisfactory to them, as it was productive of a good understanding, and mutual good offices between governor and governed, and therefore the innovation lately made in that respect at Boston and New York had in my opinion better be laid aside:.....so this article was suffered to remain.

But the 14th was thought totally inadmissible. The monopoly of the American commerce could never be given up, and the proposing it would only give offence without answering any good purpose. I was therefore prevailed on to strike it wholly out.

The 15th was readily agreed to.

The 16th it was thought would be of little consequence, if the duties were given to the colony treasuries.

The 17th it was thought could hardly be obtained, but might be tried.

Thus having gone through the whole, I was desired to make a fair copy for Dr. Fothergill, who now informed us, that having an opportunity of seeing daily lord Dartmouth, of whose good disposition he had a high opinion, he would communicate the paper to him, as the sentiments of considerate persons who wished the welfare of both countries. Suppose, said Mr. Barclay, I were to show this paper to lord Hyde; would there be any thing amiss in so doing? He is a very knowing man, and though not in the ministry, properly speaking, he is a good deal attended to by them. I have some acquaintance with him, we converse freely sometimes, and perhaps if he and I were to talk these articles over, I should communicate to him our conversation upon them, some good

might arise out of it. Dr. Fothergill had no objection; and I said I could have none. I knew lord Hyde a little, and had an esteem for him. I had drawn the paper at their request, and it was now theirs to do with it what they pleased. Mr. Barclay then proposed, that I should send the fair copy to him, which after making one for Dr. Fothergill and one for himself, he would return to me. Another question then arose, whether I had any objection to their mentioning that I had been consulted? I said, none that related to myself; but it was my opinion, if they wished any attention paid to the propositions, it would be better not to mention me; the ministry having, as I conceived, a prejudice against me and every thing that came from me. They said on that consideration it might be best not to mention me, and so it was concluded. For my own part, I kept this whole proceeding a profound secret; but I soon after discovered that it had taken air by some means or other.

Being much interrupted the day following, I did not copy and send the paper. The next morning I received a note from Mr. Barclay, pressing to have it before twelve o'clock. I accordingly sent it to him. Three days after I received the following note from him.

D. Barclay presents his respects, and acquaints Dr. Franklin, that being informed a pamphlet, entitled "A FRIENDLY ADDRESS," has been dispersed to the *disadvantage* of America, (in particular by the dean of Norwich) he desires Dr. Franklin will peruse the inclosed, just come to hand from America; and if he approves of it, republish it, as D. Barclay wishes something might be properly spread at Norwich. D. Barclay saw to-day a person with whom he had been yesterday, (before he called on Dr. Franklin) and had the satisfaction of walking part of the way with him to another noble person's house, to meet on the *business*, and he told him, that he could say, that he saw some *light*.

Cheapside, 11th inst.

The person so met and accompanied by Mr. Barclay, I understood to be lord Hyde, going either to lord Dartmouth's or lord North's, I knew not which.

In the following week arrived the proceedings of the congress, which had been long and anxiously expected, both by the friends and adversaries of America.

The petition of congress to the king, was inclosed to me, and accompanied by the following letter from their president, addressed to the American agents in London, as follows:

TO PAUL WENTWORTH, ESQ., DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, WILLIAM BOLLEN, ESQ., DR. ARTHUR LEE, THOMAS LIFE, ESQ., EDMUND BURKE, ESQ., CHARLES GARTH, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

WE give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America, and the cause of liberty, when we commit the inclosed papers to your care.

We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his majesty; and after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue, and justice of the nation; it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns throughout the united kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great Britain.

We doubt not but that your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

The gratitude of America, expressed in the inclosed vote of thanks,^a we desire may be conveyed to the deserving ob-

^a This piece is wanting; but it was a vote of congress declaratory, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented

jects of it, in the manner that you think will be most acceptable to them.

It is proposed, that another congress be held on the 10th May next, at this place; but in the mean time we beg the favor of you, gentlemen, to transmit to the speakers of the several assemblies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of ministry or parliament, as it may concern America to know.

We are with unfeigned esteem and regard, gentlemen, by order of the congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of those colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies: and this army with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander in chief, and under him, of the brigadiers-general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

of their most grateful acknowledgements, to those truly noble, honorable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on civil information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependant on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless. The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament, made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their antient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved, that colonists may be tried in England, for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth; and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last sessions of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbor of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain, for trial; whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government, and the Roman Catholic religion, throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly

boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America.

To a sovereign, who "glories in the name of Briton," the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies, to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us, by those we revere: but so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one, to receive injuries and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit: but thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power, to promote the great objects of your royal care, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of free-

men cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us without our consent, "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies" But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: and for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress, by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience, yet we doubt not the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Bri-

tain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourse will be immediately restored. In the the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed in our happier days to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.

HENRY MIDDLETON.

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

From New Hampshire,

John Sullivan,
Nath. Folsom.

Massachusetts Bay,

Thomas Cushing,
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Rob. Treat Paine.

Rhode Island,

Step. Hopkins,
Sam. Ward.

Connecticut,

Eleph. Dyer,
Roger Sherman,
Silas Deane.

New York,

Phil. Livingston,
John Alsop,
Isaac Low,
Jas. Duane,
John Jay,
Wm. Floyd,
Henry Wisner,
S. Boerum.

New Jersey,

Wil. Livingston,
John De. Hart,
Steph. Crane,
Rich. Smith.

Pennsylvania,

E. Biddle,
J. Galloway,
John Dickinson,
John Morton,
Thomas Mifflin,
George Ross,
Cha. Humphreys.

Delaware Government,

Cæsar Rodney,
Tho. M'Kean,
Geo. Read.

Maryland,

Mat. Tilghman,
Tho. Johnson, jun.,
Wm. Paca,
Samuel Chace.

Virginia,

Richard Henry Lee,
Patrick Henry,
G. Washington,
Edmund Pendleton,
Rich. Bland,
Benj. Harrison.

North Carolina,

Will. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
Rd. Caswell.

South Carolina,

Tho. Lynch,
Christ. Gadsden,
J. Rutledge,
Edward Rutledge

The first impression made by the proceedings of the American congress on people in general, was greatly in our favor. Administration seemed to be staggered, were impatient to know whether the *petition* mentioned in the proceedings was come to my hands, and took round-about methods of obtaining that information, by getting a ministerial merchant, a known intimate of the solicitor-general, to write me a letter, import-

ing that he heard I had received such a petition, that I was to be attended in presenting it by the merchants, and begging to know the time, that he might attend "on so important an occasion, and give his testimony to so good a work." Before these proceedings arrived, it had been given out, that no petition from the congress could be received, as they were an illegal body; but the secretary of state, after a day's perusal (during which a council was held), told us it was a decent and proper petition, and cheerfully undertook to present it to his majesty, who, he afterwards assured us, was pleased to receive it very graciously, and to promise to lay it, as soon as they met, before his two houses of parliament; and we had reason to believe that at that time, the petition was intended to be made the foundation of some change of measures; but that purpose, if such there was, did not long continue.

About this time I received a letter from Mr. Barclay, then at Norwich, dated December 18, expressing his opinion, that it might be best to postpone taking any further steps in the affair of procuring a meeting and petition of the merchants, (on which we had had several consultations) till after the holidays, thereby to give the proceedings of congress more time to work upon men's minds, adding, "I likewise consider that our superiors will have some little time for reflection, and perhaps may contemplate on the propriety of the HINTS in their possession. By a few lines I have received from lord Hyde, he intimates his hearty wish that they may be productive of what may be practicable and advantageous for the mother country and the colonies."—On the 22d Mr. Barclay was come to town, when I dined with him, and learnt that lord Hyde thought the propositions too hard.

On the 24th I received the following note from a considerable merchant in the city, viz.

MR. WILLIAM NEATE presents his most respectful compliments to Dr. Franklin, and as a report prevailed yesterday evening, that all the disputes between Great Britain and the American colonies, were, through his application and influence with lord North, amicably settled, conformable to

the wish and desire of the late congress. W. N. desires the favor of Dr. Franklin to inform him by a line, per the bearer, whether there is any credit to be given to the report?

St. Mary Hill, 24th December, 1774.

My answer was to this effect, that I should be very happy to be able to inform him that the report he had heard had some truth in it; but I could only assure him that I knew nothing of the matter. Such reports, however, were confidently circulated, and had some effect in recovering the stocks, which had fallen three or four per cent.

On Christmas day, visiting Mrs. Howe, she told me as soon as I went in, that her brother, lord Howe, wished to be acquainted with me; that he was a very good man, and she was sure we should like each other. I said, I had always heard a good character of lord Howe, and should be proud of the honor of being known to him. He is just by, said she; will you give me leave to send for him? By all means, madam, if you think proper. She rang for a servant, wrote a note, and lord Howe came in a few minutes.

After some extremely polite compliments as to the general motives for his desiring an acquaintance with me, he said he had a particular one at this time, which was the alarming situation of our affairs with America, which no one, he was persuaded, understood better than myself; that it was the opinion of some friends of his, that no man could do more towards reconciling our differences than I could, if I would undertake it; that he was sensible I had been very ill treated by the ministry, but he hoped that would not be considered by me in the present case; that he himself, though not in opposition, had much disapproved of their conduct towards me; that some of them, he was sure, were ashamed of it, and sorry it had happened; which he supposed must be sufficient to abate resentment in a great and generous mind; that if he were himself in administration, he should be ready to make me ample satisfaction, which he was persuaded would one day or other be done; that he was unconnected with the ministry, except by some personal friendships, wished well how-

ever to government, was anxious for the general welfare of the whole empire, and had a particular regard for New England, which had shown a very endearing respect to his family; that he was merely an independent member of parliament, desirous of doing what good he could, agreeably to his duty in that station; that he therefore had wished for an opportunity of obtaining my sentiments on the means of reconciling our differences, which he saw must be attended with the most mischievous consequences, if not speedily accommodated; that he hoped his zeal for the public welfare, would, with me, excuse the impertinence of a mere stranger, who could have otherwise no reason to expect, or right to request me to open my mind to him upon these topics; but he did conceive, that if I would indulge him with my ideas of the means proper to bring about a reconciliation, it might be of some use; that perhaps I might not be willing myself to have any *direct* communication with this ministry on this occasion; that I might likewise not care to have it known that I had any *indirect* communication with them, till I could be well assured of their good dispositions; that being himself upon no ill terms with them, he thought it not impossible that he might, by conveying my sentiments to them, and theirs to me, be a means of bringing on a good understanding, without committing either them or me, if his negotiation should not succeed; and that I might rely on his keeping perfectly secret, every thing I should wish to remain so.

Mrs. Howe here offering to withdraw, whether of herself, or from any sign by him, I know not, I begged she might stay, as I should have no secret in a business of this nature that I could not freely confide to her prudence; which was truth; for I had never conceived a higher opinion of the discretion and excellent understanding of any woman on so short an acquaintance. I added, that though I had never before the honor of being in his lordship's company, his manner was such as had already engaged my confidence, and would make me perfectly easy and free in communicating myself to him. I begged him in the first place, to give me credit for a sincere

desire of healing the breach between the two countries; that I would cheerfully and heartily do every thing in my small power to accomplish it; but that I apprehended from the king's speech, and from the measures talked of, as well as those already determined on, no intention or disposition of the kind existed in the present ministry, and therefore no accommodation could be expected till we saw a change. That as to what his lordship mentioned of the *personal injuries* done me, those done my country were so much greater, that I did not think the other, at this time, worth mentioning; that besides it was a fixed rule with me, not to mix my private affairs with those of the public; that I could join with my personal enemy in serving the public, or, when it was for its interest, with the public in serving that enemy; these being my sentiments, his lordship might be assured that no private considerations of the kind should prevent my being as useful in the present case as my small ability would permit. He appeared satisfied and pleased with these declarations, and gave it me as his sincere opinion, that some of the ministry were extremely well disposed to any reasonable accommodations, preserving only the dignity of government; and he wished me to draw up in writing, some propositions containing the terms on which I conceived a good understanding might be obtained and established, and the mode of proceeding to accomplish it; which propositions, as soon as prepared, we might meet to consider, either at his house, or at mine, or where I pleased; but as his being seen at my house, or me at his, might he thought occasion some speculation, it was concluded to be best to meet at his sister's, who readily offered her house for the purpose, and where there was a good pretence with her family and friends for my being often seen, as it was known that we played together at chess. I undertook, accordingly, to draw up something of the kind; and so for that time we parted, agreeing to meet at the same place again on the Wednesday following.

I dined about this time by invitation with governor Pownall. There was no company but the family, and after dinner

we had a *tête-à-tête*. He had been in the opposition; but was now about making his peace, in order to come into parliament on ministerial interest, which I did not then know. He told me what I had before been told by several of lord North's friends, that the American measures were not the measures of that minister, nor approved by him; that, on the contrary, he was well disposed to promote a reconciliation upon any terms honorable to government; that I had been looked upon as the great fomentor of the opposition in America, and as a great adversary to any accommodation; that he, governor Pownall, had given a different account of me, and had told his lordship that I was certainly much misunderstood: from the governor's further discourse I collected, that he wished to be employed as an envoy or commissioner to America, to settle the differences, and to have me with him; but as I apprehended there was little likelihood, that either of us would be so employed by government, I did not give much attention to that part of his discourse.

I should have mentioned in its place, (but one cannot recollect every thing in order) that declining at first to draw up the propositions desired by lord Howe, I alleged its being unnecessary, since the congress in their petition to the king, just then received and presented through lord Dartmouth, had stated their grievances, and pointed out very explicitly what would restore the ancient harmony; and I read a part of the petition to show their good dispositions, which, being very pathetically expressed, seemed to affect both the brother and sister. But still I was desired to give my ideas of the steps to be taken, in case some of the propositions in the petition should not be thought admissible: and this, as I said before, I undertook to do.

I had promised lord Chatham to communicate to him the first important news I should receive from America. I therefore sent him the proceedings of the congress as soon as I received them; but a whole week passed after I received the petition, before I could, as I wished to do, wait upon him with it, in order to obtain his sentiments on the *whole*; for my

time was taken up in meetings with the other agents to consult about presenting the petition, in waiting three different days with them on lord Dartmouth, in consulting upon and writing letters to the speakers of assemblies, and other business, which did not allow me a day to go to Hayes. At last, on Monday the 26th, I got out, and was there about one o'clock; he received me with an affectionate kind of respect, that from so great a man was extremely engaging; but the opinion he expressed of the congress was still more so. They had acted, he said, with so much temper, moderation, and wisdom, that he thought it the most honorable assembly of statesmen since those of the antient Greeks and Romans, in the most virtuous times: that there was not in their whole proceedings, above one or two things he could have wished otherwise; perhaps but one, and that was their assertion, that the keeping up a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without consent of their legislatures, was against law; he doubted that was not well founded, and that the law alluded to did not extend to the colonies. The rest he admired and honored: he thought the petition decent, manly, and properly expressed: he inquired much and particularly concerning the state of America, the probability of their perseverance, the difficulties they must meet with in adhering for any long time to their resolutions; the resources they might have to supply the deficiency of commerce; to all which I gave him answers with which he seemed well satisfied. He expressed a great regard and warm affection for that country, with hearty wishes for their prosperity; and that government here might soon come to see its mistakes, and rectify them; and intimated that possibly he might, if his health permitted, prepare something for its consideration, when the parliament should meet after the holidays; on which he should wish to have previously my sentiments. I mentioned to him the very hazardous state I conceived we were in, by the continuance of the army in Boston; that whatever disposition there might be in the inhabitants to give no just cause of offence to the troops, or in the general to preserve order among them, an unpremedi-

tated unforeseen quarrel might happen, between perhaps a drunken porter and a soldier, that might bring on a riot, tumult, and bloodshed; and its consequences produce a breach impossible to be healed; that the army could not possibly answer any good purpose *there*, and might be infinitely mischievous; that no accommodation could be properly proposed and entered into by the Americans, while the bayonet was at their breasts; that to have any agreement binding, all force should be withdrawn. His lordship seemed to think these sentiments had something in them that was reasonable.

From Hayes I went to Halsted, Mr. Sargent's place, to dine, intending thence a visit to lord Stanhope at Chevening; but hearing there that his lordship and the family were in town, I staid at Halsted all night, and the next morning went to Chiselhurst to call upon lord Camden, it being in my way to town. I met his lordship and family in two carriages just without his gate, going on a visit of congratulation to lord Chatham and his lady, on the late marriage of their daughter to lord Mahon, son of lord Stanhope. They were to be back to dinner; so I agreed to go in, stay dinner, and spend the evening there, and not return to town till next morning. We had that afternoon and evening a great deal of conversation on American affairs, concerning which he was very inquisitive, and I gave him the best information in my power. I was charmed with his generous and noble sentiments; and had the great pleasure of hearing his full approbation of the proceedings of the congress, the petition, &c. &c. of which, at his request, I afterwards sent him a copy. He seemed anxious that the Americans should continue to act with the same temper, coolness, and wisdom, with which they had hitherto proceeded in most of their public assemblies, in which case he did not doubt they would succeed in establishing their rights, and obtain a solid and durable agreement with the mother country; of the necessity and great importance of which agreement, he seemed to have the strongest impressions.

I returned to town the next morning, in time to meet at the hour appointed by lord Howe. I apologised for my not being ready with the paper I had promised, by my having been kept longer than I intended in the country. We had, however, a good deal of conversation on the subject, and his lordship told me he could now assure me of a certainty, that there was a sincere disposition in lord North and lord Dartmouth to accommodate the differences with America, and to listen favorably to any propositions that might have a probable tendency to answer that salutary purpose. He then asked me what I thought of sending some person or persons over, commissioned to inquire into the grievances of America upon the spot, converse with the leading people, and endeavor with them to agree upon some means of composing our differences. I said, that a person of rank and dignity, who had a character of candor, integrity, and wisdom, might possibly, if employed in that service, be of great use. He seemed to be of the same opinion, and that whoever was employed should go with a hearty desire of promoting a sincere reconciliation, on the foundation of mutual interests and mutual good-will; that he should endeavor, not only to remove their prejudices against government, but equally the prejudices of government against them, and bring on a perfect good understanding, &c. Mrs. Howe said, I wish brother you were to be sent thither on such a service; I should like that much better than general Howe's going to command the army there. I think, madam, said I, they ought to provide for general Howe some more honorable employment. Lord Howe here took out of his pocket a paper, and offering it to me said, smiling, if it is not an unfair question, may I ask whether you know any thing of this paper? Upon looking at it, I saw it was a copy in David Barclay's hand, of the *Hints* before recited; and said, that I had seen it; adding a little after, that since I perceived his lordship was acquainted with a transaction, my concern in which I had understood was to have been kept a secret, I should make no difficulty in owning to him that I had been consulted on the subject, and had

drawn up that paper. He said, he was rather sorry to find that the sentiments expressed in it were mine, as it gave him less hopes of promoting, by my assistance, the wished-for reconciliation; since he had reason to think there was no likelihood of the admission of these propositions. He hoped, however, that I would re-consider the subject, and form some plan that would be acceptable here. He expatiated on the infinite service it would be to the nation, and the great merit in being instrumental in so good a work; that he should not think of influencing me by any selfish motive, but certainly I might with reason expect any reward in the power of government to bestow. This to me was what the French vulgarly call *spitting in the soup*. However, I promised to draw some sketch of a plan at his request, though I much doubted, I said, whether it would be thought preferable to that he had in his hand. But he was willing to hope that it would, and as he considered my situation, that I had friends here and constituents in America to keep well with, that I might possibly propose something improper to be seen in my hand-writing; therefore, it would be better to send it to Mrs. Howe, who would copy it, send the copy to him to be communicated to the ministry, and return me the original. This I agreed to, though I did not apprehend the inconvenience he mentioned. In general, I liked much his manner, and found myself disposed to place great confidence in him on occasion, but in this particular the secrecy he proposed seemed not of much importance.

In a day or two I sent the following paper, inclosed in a cover directed to the honorable Mrs. Howe.

It is supposed to be the wish on both sides, not merely to put a stop to the mischief at present threatening the general welfare, but to cement a *cordial union*, and remove, not only every real grievance, but every cause of jealousy and suspicion.

With this view, the first thing necessary is, to know what is, by the different parties in the dispute, thought essentially necessary for the obtaining such an union.

The American congress, in their petition to the king, have been explicit, declaring, that by a repeal of the oppressive acts therein complained of, *‘the harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired of them, will, with the usual intercourse, be immediately restored.’*

If it has been thought reasonable here, to expect that, previous to an alteration of measures, the colonies should make some declaration respecting their future conduct, they have also done that, by adding, *‘That when the causes of their apprehensions are removed, their future conduct will prove them not unworthy of the regard they have been accustomed in their happier days to enjoy.’*

For their sincerity in these declarations, they solemnly call to witness the Searcher of all hearts.

If Britain can have any reliance on these declarations, (and perhaps none to be extorted by force can be more relied on than these which are thus freely made,) she may without hazard to herself try the expedient proposed, since, if it fails, she has it in her power at any time to resume her present measures.

It is then proposed,

That Britain should show some confidence in these declarations, by repealing all the laws or parts of laws that are requested to be repealed in the petition of the congress to the king.

And that at the same time orders should be given to withdraw the fleet from Boston, and remove all the troops to Quebec or the Floridas, that the colonies may be left at liberty in their future stipulations.

That this may, for the honor of Britain, appear not the effect of any apprehension from the measures entered into and recommended to the people by the congress, but from good will, and a change of disposition towards the colonies,

with a sincere desire of reconciliation; let some of their other grievances, which in their petition they have left to the magnanimity and justice of the king and parliament, be at the same time removed, such as those relating to the payment of governors' and judges' salaries, and the instructions for dissolving assemblies, &c. with the declarations concerning the statute of Henry VIII.

And to give the colonies an immediate opportunity of demonstrating the reality of their professions, let their proposed ensuing congress be authorised by government, (as was that held at Albany in 1754,) and a person of weight and dignity of character be appointed to preside at it on behalf of the crown.

And then let requisition be made to the congress, of such points as government wishes to obtain, for its future security, for aids, for the advantage of general commerce, for reparation to the India company, &c. &c.

A generous confidence thus placed in the colonies, will give ground to the friends of government there, in their endeavors to procure from America every reasonable concession, or engagement, and every substantial aid that can fairly be desired.

On the Saturday evening I saw Mrs. Howe, who informed me she had transcribed and sent the paper to lord Howe in the country, and she returned me the original. On the following Tuesday, January 3d, I received a note from her, (inclosing a letter she had received from lord Howe the last night,) which follows.

“MRS. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin, she incloses him a letter she received last night, and returns him many thanks for his very obliging present,^a which has already given her great entertainment. If the doctor has any spare time for chess, she will be exceedingly glad to see

^a His philosophical writings.

him any morning this week, and as often as will be agreeable to him, and rejoices in having so good an excuse for asking the favor of his company."

Tuesday.

[*Letter inclosed in the foregoing.*]

"Porter's Lodge, Jan. 2d, 1775.

"I HAVE received your packet; and it is with much concern that I collect, from sentiments of such authority as those of our worthy friend, that the desired accommodation threatens to be attended with much greater difficulty than I had flattered myself, in the progress of our intercourse, there would be reason to apprehend.

"I shall forward the propositions as intended. Not desirous of trespassing further on our friend's indulgence; but returning sentiments of regard, which his candid and obliging attention to my troublesome inquiries, will render ever permanent in the memory of your affectionate, &c.

"I ought to make excuses likewise to you. **HOWE.**

"Hon. Mrs. Howe, Grafton street."

His lordship had, in his last conversation with me, acknowledged a communication between him and the ministry, to whom he wished to make my sentiments known. In this letter from the country he owns the receipt of them, and mentions his intentions of forwarding them, that is, as I understood it, to the ministers; but expresses his apprehensions that such propositions were not likely to produce any good effect. Some time after, perhaps a week, I received a note from Mrs. Howe, desiring to see me. I waited upon her immediately, when she showed me a letter from her brother, of which having no copy, I can only give from the best of my recollection the purport of it, which I think was this; that he desired to know from their friend, meaning me, through her means, whether it might not be expected, that if that friend would engage for the payment of the tea as a prelimi-

nary, relying on a promised redress of their grievances on future petitions from their assembly, they would approve of his making such engagement; and whether the proposition in the former paper, (the HINTS,) relating to aids, was still in contemplation of the author. As Mrs. Howe proposed sending to her brother that evening, I wrote immediately the following answer, which she transcribed and forwarded.

“The proposition in the former paper relating to aids, is still in contemplation of the author, and, as he thinks, is included in the last article of the present paper.

“The people of America, conceiving that parliament has no right to tax them, and that therefore all that has been extorted from them by the operation of the duty acts, with the assistance of an armed force, *preceding* the destruction of the tea, is so much injury, which ought in order of time to be first repaired, before a demand on the tea account can be justly made of them; are not, he thinks, likely to approve of the measure proposed, and pay *in the first place* the value demanded, especially as twenty times as much injury has since been done them by blocking up their port; and their castle also seized before by the crown, has not been restored, nor any satisfaction offered them for the same.”

At the meeting of parliament after the holidays, which was on the of January, (1775), lord Howe returned to town, when we had another meeting, at which he lamented that my propositions were not such as probably could be accepted; intimated, that it was thought I had powers or instructions from the congress to make concessions on occasion that would be more satisfactory. I disclaimed the having any of any kind but what related to the presenting of their petition. We talked over all the particulars in my paper, which I supported with reasons; and finally said, that if what I had proposed would not do, I should be glad to hear what would do; I wished to see some propositions from the ministers themselves. His lordship was not, he said, as yet fully acquainted with their sentiments, but should learn more in a few days.

It was, however, some weeks before I heard any thing further from him.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Barclay and I were frequently together on the affair of preparing the merchants' petition, which took up so much of his time that he could not conveniently see lord Hyde; so he had no information to give me concerning the Hints, and I wondered I heard nothing of them from Dr. Fothergill. At length, however, but I cannot recollect about what time, the doctor called on me, and told me he had communicated them, and with them had verbally given my arguments in support of them, to lord Dartmouth, who, after consideration, had told him, some of them appeared reasonable, but others were inadmissible or impracticable: that having occasion to see frequently the speaker,^o he had also communicated them to him, as he found him very anxious for a reconciliation: that the speaker had said it would be very humiliating to Britain to be obliged to submit to such terms: but the doctor told him she had been unjust; and ought to bear the consequences, and alter her conduct; that the pill might be bitter, but it would be salutary, and must be swallowed: that these were the sentiments of impartial men, after thorough consideration and full information of all circumstances, and that sooner or later these or similar measures must be followed, or the empire would be divided and ruined: the doctor on the whole hoped some good would be effected by our endeavors.

On the 19th of January, I received a card from lord Stanhope, acquainting me, that lord Chatham having a motion to make on the morrow in the house of lords, concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the house, into which lord S. would endeavor to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the house that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning, his lordship let me know by another card, that if I attended at two o'clock in the lobby, lord Chatham would be there about that time,

^o Sir Fletcher Norton.

and would himself introduce me. I attended, and met him there accordingly. On my mentioning to him what lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, "Certainly; and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your being present at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine;" and so taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the doorkeepers followed and acquainted him, that by the order, none were to be carried in at that door, but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the doorkeepers, saying aloud, this is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the house; when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known, that there was any communication between his lordship and me, this I found occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the house, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance. I had great satisfaction in hearing his motion and the debate upon it, which I shall not attempt to give here an account of, as you may find a better in the papers of the time. It was his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston, as the first step towards an accommodation. The day following, I received a note from lord Stanhope, expressing, that "at the desire of lord Chatham, was sent me inclosed, the motion he made in the house of lords, that I might be possessed of it in the most authentic manner, by the communication of the individual paper which was read to the house by the mover himself." I sent copies of this motion to America, and was the more pleased with it, as I conceived it had partly taken

its rise from a hint I had given his lordship in a former conversation. It follows in these words.

Lord Chatham's Motion, January 20, 1775.

“That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, that, in order to open the way towards an happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders may be dispatched to general Gage, for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season and other circumstances, indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable.”

I was quite charmed with lord Chatham's speech in support of his motion.^p He impressed me with the highest idea of him as a great and most able statesman. Lord Camden, another wonderfully good speaker and close reasoner, joined him in the same argument, as did several other lords, who spoke excellently well; but all availed no more than the whistling of the winds. This motion was rejected. Sixteen Scotch peers, and twenty-four bishops, with all the lords in possession or expectation of places, when they vote together unanimously, as they generally do for ministerial measures, make a dead majority that renders all debating ridiculous in itself, since it can answer no end. Full of the high esteem I had imbibed for lord Chatham, I wrote back to lord Stanhope the following note, viz.

^p It was reported at the time, that his lordship had concluded his speech with the following remarkable words. “If the ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the king is *betrayed*, but I will pronounce that *the kingdom is undone*.”

Dr. Franklin presents his best respects to lord Stanhope, with many thanks to his lordship and lord Chatham, for the communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. F. is filled with admiration of that truly great man. He has seen in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; in the present instance he sees both united, and both as he thinks, in the highest degree possible.

Craven street, Jan. 23, 1775.

As in the course of the debate, some lords in the administration had observed, that it was common and easy to censure their measures, but those who did so proposed nothing better; lord Chatham mentioned that he should not be one of those idle censurers, that he had thought long and closely upon the subject, and proposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditation, in a plan for healing our differences, and restoring peace to the empire, to which his present motion was preparatory: I much desired to know what his plan was, and intended waiting on him to see if he would communicate it to me; but he went the next morning to Hayes, and I was so much taken up with daily business and company, that I could not easily get out to him. A few days after, however, lord Mahon called on me, and told me lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing me; when I promised to be with him the Friday following, several engagements prevented my going sooner. On Friday the 27th, I took a post-chaise about 9 o'clock, and got to Hayes about 11, but my attention being engaged in reading a new pamphlet, the postboy drove me a mile or two beyond the gate. His lordship being out on an airing in his chariot, had met me before I reached Hayes, unobserved by me, turned and followed me, and not finding me there, concluded, as he had seen me reading, that I had passed by mistake, and sent a servant after me. He expressed great pleasure at my coming, and acquainted me, in a long conversation, with the outlines of his plan, parts of which he read to me. He said he had communicated it only to lord Camden, whose advice he much

relied on, particularly in the law part; and that he would, as soon as he could get it transcribed, put it into my hands for my opinion and advice, but should show it to no other person before he presented it to the house; and he requested me to make no mention of it, otherwise parts might be misunderstood and blown up beforehand, and others perhaps adopted and produced by ministers as their own. I promised the closest secrecy, and kept my word: not even mentioning to any one that I had seen him. I dined with him, his family only present, and returned to town in the evening.

On the Sunday following, being the 29th, his lordship came to town, and called upon me in Craven street. He brought with him his plan transcribed, in the form of an act of parliament, which he put into my hands, requesting me to consider it carefully, and communicate to him such remarks upon it as should occur to me. His reason for desiring to give me that trouble, was, as he was pleased to say, that he knew no man so thoroughly acquainted with the subject, or so capable of giving advice upon it; that he thought the errors of ministers in American affairs, had been often owing to their not obtaining the best information: that therefore though he had considered the business thoroughly in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment, but that he came to set it right by mine, as men set their watches by a regulator. He had not determined when he should produce it in the house of lords; but in the course of our conversation, considering the precarious situation of his health, and that if presenting it was delayed, some intelligence might arrive which would make it seem less seasonable, or in all parts not so proper; or the ministry might engage in different measures, and then say if you had produced your plan sooner, we might have attended to it, he concluded to offer it the Wednesday following; and therefore wished to see me upon it the preceding Tuesday, when he would again call upon me, unless I could conveniently come to Hayes. I chose the latter, in respect to his lordship, and because there was less likelihood of interruptions: and I promised to be with him early, that

we might have more time. He staid with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door; and being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man, on so important a business, flattered not a little my vanity; and the honor of it gave me the more pleasure, as it happened on the very day twelve months, that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the privy council.^a

I applied myself immediately to the reading and considering the plan, of which, when it was afterwards published, I sent you a copy, and therefore need not insert it here. I put down upon paper, as I went along, some short memorandums for my future discourse with him upon it, which follow, that you may, if you please, compare them with the plan; and if you do so, you will see their drift and purpose, which otherwise would make me much writing to explain.

Tuesday, Jan. 31st, 1775.

Notes for discourse with lord Chatham on his plan.

Voluntary grants and forced taxes, not to be expected of the same people at the same time.

Permanent revenue will be objected to; would not a temporary agreement be best, suppose for 100 years?

Does the whole of the rights claimed in the petition of rights relate to England only?

The American naturalization act gives all the rights of natural born subjects to foreigners residing there seven years. Can it be supposed that the natives there have them not?

If the king should raise armies in America, would Britain like their being brought hither! as the king might bring them when he pleased.

An act of parliament requires the colonies to furnish sundry articles of provision and accommodation to troops quar-

^a See vol. IV. p. 109, of this edition.

tered among them, this may be made very burthensome to colonies that are out of favor.

If a permanent revenue, why not the same privileges in trade with Scotland?

Should not the lands conquered by Britain and the colonies in conjunction, be given them (reserving a quit-rent) whence they might form funds to enable them to pay.

Instructions about agents to be withdrawn.

Grants to be for three years, at the end of which a new congress—and so from three to three years.

Congress to have the general defence of the frontiers, making and regulating new settlements.

Protection mutual.

We go into all your wars.

Our settlements cost you nothing.

Take the plan of union.

“Defence, extension, and prosperity of”—The late Canada act prevents their extension, and may check their prosperity.

Laws should be secure as well as charters.

Perhaps if the legislative power of parliament is owned in the colonies, they may make a law to forbid the meeting of any congress, &c.

I was at Hayes early on Tuesday, agreeably to my promise, when we entered into consideration of the plan; but though I staid near four hours, his lordship, in the manner of, I think, all eloquent persons, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned, that there was not time to go through half my memorandums; he is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him, that I found little inclination to interrupt him; therefore, considering that neither of us had much expectation that the plan would be adopted entirely as it stood; that in the course of its consideration, if it should be received, proper alterations

might be introduced; that before it would be settled, America should have opportunity to make her objections and propositions of amendment; that to have it received at all here, it must seem to comply a little with some of the prevailing prejudices of the legislature; that if it was not so perfect as might be wished, it would at least serve as a basis for treaty, and in the mean time prevent mischiefs, and that as his lordship had determined to offer it the next day, there was not time to make changes and another fair copy. I therefore ceased my querying; and though afterwards many people were pleased to do me the honor of supposing I had a considerable share in composing it, I assure you, that the addition of a single word only was made at my instance, viz. "*constitutions*" after "*charters*;" for my filling up at his request a blank with the titles of acts proper to be repealed, which I took from the proceedings of the congress, was no more than might have been done by any copying clerk.

On Wednesday, lord Stanhope, at lord Chatham's request, called upon me, and carried me down to the house of lords which was soon very full. Lord Chatham, in a most excellent speech, introduced, explained, and supported his plan. When he sat down, lord Dartmouth rose, and very properly said, it contained matter of such weight and magnitude as to require much consideration, and he therefore hoped the noble earl did not expect their lordships to decide upon it by an immediate vote, but would be willing it should lie upon the table for consideration. Lord Chatham answered readily, that he expected nothing more. But lord Sandwich rose, and in a petulant vehement speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion, that it ought to be immediately *rejected*, with the contempt it deserved; that he could never believe it to be the production of any British peer; that it appeared to him rather *the work of some American*; and, turning his face towards me, who was leaning on the bar, said, he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known. This drew the eyes of many lords upon me; but as

I had no inducement to take it to myself, I kept my countenance as immoveable as if my features had been made of wood. Then several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments also for rejecting it, of which opinion also was strongly the *wise* lord Hillsborough; but the dukes of Richmond and Manchester, lord Shelburne, lord Camden, lord Temple, lord Lyttleton and others, were for receiving it, some through approbation, and others for the character and dignity of the house. One lord mentioning with applause, the candid proposal of one of the ministers, lord Dartmouth, his lordship rose again, and said, that having since heard the opinions of so many lords against receiving it to lie upon the table for consideration, he had altered his mind, could not accept the praise offered him, for a candor of which he was now ashamed, and should therefore give his voice for rejecting the plan immediately. I am the more particular in this, as it is a trait of that nobleman's character, who, from his office, is supposed to have so great a share in American affairs, but who has in reality no will or judgment of his own, being, with dispositions for the best measures, easily prevailed with to join in the worst. Lord Chatham, in his reply to lord Sandwich, took notice of his illiberal insinuation, that the plan was not the person's who proposed it: declared that it was entirely his own, a declaration he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckoned his vice not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare, that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance, a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation, for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked

with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature! I found it harder to stand this extravagant compliment, than the preceding equally extravagant abuse; but kept as well as I could an unconcerned countenance, as not conceiving it to relate to me.

To hear so many of these *hereditary* legislators declaiming so vehemently against, not the adopting merely, but even the *consideration* of a proposal so important in its nature, offered by a person of so weighty a character, one of the first statesmen of the age, who had taken up this country when in the lowest despondency, and conducted it to victory and glory, through a war with two of the mightiest kingdoms in Europe; to hear them censuring his plan, not only for their own misunderstandings of what was in it, but for their imaginations of what was not in it, which they would not give themselves an opportunity of rectifying by a second reading; to perceive the total ignorance of the subject in some, the prejudice and passion of others, and the wilful perversion of plain truth in several of the ministers; and upon the whole, to see it so ignominiously rejected by so great a majority, and so hastily too, in breach of all decency, and prudent regard to the character and dignity of their body, as a third part of the national legislature, gave me an exceeding mean opinion of their abilities, and made their claim of sovereignty over three millions of virtuous sensible people in America, seem the greatest of absurdities, since they appeared to have scarce discretion enough to govern a herd of swine. *Hereditary legislators!* thought I. There would be more propriety, because less hazard of mischief, in having (as in some university of Germany) *hereditary professors of mathematics!* But this was a hasty reflection; for the *elected* house of commons is no better, nor ever will be while the electors receive money for their votes, and pay money wherewith ministers may bribe their representatives when chosen.

After this proceeding I expected to hear no more of any negotiation for settling our difference amicably; yet in a day

or two, I had a note from Mr. Barclay, requesting a meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, the 4th of February in the evening. I attended accordingly, and was surprised by being told that a very good disposition appeared in administration; that the HINTS had been considered, and several of them thought reasonable, and that others might be admitted with small amendments. The good doctor, with his usual philanthropy, expatiated on the miseries of war; that even a bad peace was preferable to the most successful war; that America was growing in strength, and whatever she might be obliged to submit to at present, she would in a few years be in a condition to make her own terms. Mr. Barclay hinted how much it was in my power to promote an agreement; how much it would be to my honor to effect it, and that I might expect, not only restoration of my old place, but almost any other I could wish for, &c.—I need not tell you, who know me so well, how improper and disgusting this language was to me. The doctor's was more suitable. Him I answered, that we did not wish for war, and desired nothing but what was reasonable and necessary for our security and well-being. To Mr. Barclay I replied, that the ministry, I was sure, would rather give me a place in a cart to Tyburn, than any other place whatever.—And to both, that I sincerely wished to be serviceable; that I needed no other inducement than to be shown how I might be so; but saw, they imagined more to be in my power than really was; I was then told again that conferences had been held upon the HINTS; and the paper being produced was read; that I might hear the observations that had been made upon them separately, which were as follows.

1, The first article was approved.

2, The second agreed to, so far as related to the repeal of the tea act. But repayment of the duties that had been collected, was refused.

3, The third not approved, as it implied a deficiency of power in the parliament that made those acts.

4, The fourth approved.

5, The fifth agreed to, but with a reserve, that no change prejudicial to Britain was to be expected.

6, The sixth agreed to, so far as related to the appropriation of the duties: but the appointment of the officers and their salaries, to remain as at present.

7, The seventh relating to aids in time of peace, agreed to.

8, The 8th, relating to the troops, was inadmissible.

9, The ninth could be agreed to, with this difference, that no proportion should be observed with regard to preceding taxes, but each colony should give at pleasure.

10, The tenth agreed to, as to the restitution of Castle William; but the restriction on the crown in building fortresses refused.

11, The eleventh refused absolutely, except as to the Boston port bill, which would be repealed; and the Quebec act might be so far amended, as to reduce that province to its antient limits. The other Massachusetts acts, being real amendments of their constitution, must for that reason be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament.

12, The twelfth agreed to, that the judges should be appointed during good behavior, on the assemblies providing permanent salaries, such as the crown should approve of.

13, The thirteenth agreed to, provided the assemblies make provision as in the preceding article.

15, The fifteenth agreed to.

16, The sixteenth agreed to, supposing the duties paid to the colony treasuries.

17, The seventeenth inadmissible.

We had not at this time a great deal of conversation upon these points, for I shortened it by observing, that while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of altering our constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; for we were rendered unsafe in every privilege we had a right to, and were secure in nothing. And it being hinted how neces-

nary an agreement was for America, since it was so easy for Britain to burn all our sea-port towns, I grew warm, said that the chief part of my little property consisted of houses in those towns; that they might make bonfires of them whenever they pleased, that the fear of losing them would never alter my resolution to resist to the last that claim of parliament; and that it behoved this country to take care what mischief it did us, for that sooner or later it would certainly be obliged to make good all damages with interest! The doctor smiled, as I thought, with some approbation of my discourse, passionate as it was, and said he would certainly repeat it to-morrow to lord Dartmouth.

In the discourse concerning the HINTS, Mr. Barclay happened to mention, that going to lord Hyde's, he found lord Howe with him; and that lord Hyde had said to him, "you may speak any thing before lord Howe, that you have to say to me, for he is a friend in whom I confide;" upon which he accordingly had spoken with the same freedom as usual. By this I collected how lord Howe came by the paper of HINTS, which he had shown me:—and it being mentioned as a measure thought of, to send over a commissioner with powers to inquire into grievances and give redress on certain conditions, but that it was difficult to find a proper person; I said, why not lord Hyde? he is a man of prudence and temper, a person of dignity, and I should think very suitable for such an employment: or, if he would not go, there is the other person you just mentioned, lord Howe, who would, in my opinion, do excellently well: this passed as mere conversation, and we parted.

Lord Chatham's rejected plan being printed, for the public judgment, I received six copies from lord Mahon, his son-in-law, which I sent to different persons in America.

A week and more passed, in which I heard nothing further of the negotiation, and my time was much taken up among the members of parliament; when Mr. Barclay sent me a note to say, that he was indisposed, but desirous of seeing me, and should be glad if I would call on him. I waited upon

him the next morning, when he told me, that he had seen lord Hyde, and had some further discourse with him on the ARTICLES; that he thought himself now fully possessed of what would do in this business; that he therefore wished another meeting with me and doctor Fothergill, when he would endeavor to bring prepared a draft conformable chiefly to what had been proposed and conceded on both sides, with some propositions of his own. I readily agreed to the meeting, which was to be on Thursday evening, Feb. 16th.

We met accordingly, when Mr. Barclay produced the following paper, viz.

A PLAN, which it is believed would produce a *permanent union* between Great Britain and her colonies.

1, The tea destroyed to be paid for; and, in order that no time may be lost, to begin the desirable work of conciliation, it is proposed that the agent or agents, in a petition to the king, should engage that the tea destroyed shall be paid for; and in consequence of that engagement, a commissioner to have authority, by a clause in an act of parliament, to open the port, (by a suspension of the Boston port act) when that engagement shall be complied with.

2d, The tea-duty act to be repealed, as well for the advantage of Great Britain as the colonies.

3d, Castle William to be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay, as formerly, before it was delivered up by governor Hutchinson.

4th, As it is believed that the *commencement* of conciliatory measures will in a considerable degree quiet the minds of the subjects in America, it is proposed that the inhabitants of the province of the Massachusetts Bay should petition the king, and state their objections to the said act.^r And it is to be *understood*, that the said act shall be repealed. Interim, the commissioner to have power to suspend the act, in order to enable the inhabitants to petition.

^r Supposed to mean the Boston port act. B. F.

5th, The several provinces who may think themselves aggrieved by the Quebec bill, to petition in their legislative capacities; and it is to be *understood* that so far of the act as extends the limits of Quebec beyond its antient bounds, is to be repealed.

6th, The act of Henry VIIIth to be formally disclaimed by parliament.

7th, In time of *peace* the Americans to raise within their respective provinces, by acts of their own legislatures, a certain sum or sums, such as *may be thought* necessary for a peace establishment, to pay governors, judges, &c.

Vide—Laws of Jamaica.

8th, In time of *war*, on requisition made by the king, with consent of parliament, every colony shall raise such sums of money, as their legislatures may think suitable to their abilities and the public exigency, to be laid out in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or such other purposes as the king shall require and direct.

9th, The acts of navigation to be re-examined, in order to see whether some alterations might not be made therein, as much for the advantage of Great Britain, as the ease of the colonies.

10th, A naval officer to be appointed by the crown to reside in each colony, to see those acts observed.

N. B. In some colonies they are *not* appointed by the crown.

11th, All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies, and paid into their treasuries, and an officer of the crown to see it done.

12th, The admiralty courts to be reduced to the same powers as they have in England.

13th, All judges in the king's colony governments, to be appointed during good behavior, and to be paid by the province, agreeable to article 7th.

N. B. If the king chooses to add to their salaries, the same to be sent from England.

14th, The governors to be supported in the same manner.

Our conversation turned chiefly upon the *first* article. It was said that the ministry only wanted some opening to be given them, some ground on which to found the commencement of conciliating measures, that a petition, containing such an engagement as mentioned in this article, would answer that purpose: that preparations were making to send over more troops and ships: that such a petition might prevent their going, especially if a commissioner were proposed: I was therefore urged to engage the colony agents to join with me in such a petition. My answer was, that no agent had any thing to do with the tea business, but those for Massachusetts Bay, who were, Mr. Bollan for the council, myself for the assembly, and Mr. Lee, appointed to succeed me when I should leave England; that the latter, therefore, could hardly yet be considered as an agent; and that the former was a cautious exact man, and not easily persuaded to take steps of such importance without instructions or authority; that therefore if such a step were to be taken, it would lie chiefly on me to take it; that indeed, if there were, as they supposed, a clear probability of good to be done by it, I should make no scruple of hazarding myself in it; but I thought the empowering a commissioner to suspend the Boston port act, was a method too dilatory, and a mere suspension would not be satisfactory; that if such an engagement were entered into, all the Massachusetts acts should be immediately repealed.

They laid hold of the readiness I had expressed to petition on a probability of doing good, applauded it, and urged me to draw up a petition immediately. I said it was a matter of importance, and with their leave I would take home the paper, consider the propositions as they now stood, and give them my opinion to-morrow evening. This was agreed to, and for that time we parted.

Weighing now the present dangerous situation of affairs in America, and the daily hazard of widening the breach there irreparable, I embraced the idea proposed in the paper, of sending over a commissioner, as it might be a means of suspending military operations, and bring on a treaty, whereby mischief would be prevented, and an agreement by degrees be formed and established; I also concluded to do what had been desired of me as to the engagement, and essayed a draft of a memorial to lord Dartmouth, for that purpose, simply; to be signed only by myself. As to the sending of a commissioner, a measure which I was desired likewise to propose, and express my sentiments of its utility, I apprehended my colleagues in the agency might be justly displeased if I took a step of such importance without consulting them, and therefore I sketched a joint petition to that purpose for them to sign with me if they pleased; but apprehending that would meet with difficulty, I drew up a letter to lord Dartmouth, containing the same proposition, with the reasons for it, to be sent from me only. I made also upon paper some remarks on the propositions; with some hints on a separate paper of further remarks to be made in conversation, when we should meet in the evening of the 17th. Copies of these papers (except the first, which I do not find with me on shipboard,) are here placed as follows, viz.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

THE PETITION and MEMORIAL of W. Bollan, B. Franklin,
and Arthur Lee,

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners, being agents for several colonies, and deeply affected with the apprehension of impending calamities that now threaten your majesty's subjects in America, beg leave to approach your throne, and to suggest with all humility, their opinion, formed on much attentive consideration, that if it should please your majesty to permit and authorise a meeting of delegates from the different provinces, and appoint some person or persons of dignity and wisdom

from this country, to preside in that meeting, or to confer with the said delegates, acquaint themselves fully with the true grievances of the colonies, and settle the means of composing all dissensions, such means to be afterwards ratified by your majesty, if found just and suitable; your petitioners are persuaded, from their thorough knowlege of that country and people, that such a measure might be attended with the most salutary effects, prevent much mischief, and restore the harmony which so long subsisted, and is so necessary to the prosperity and happiness of all your majesty's subjects in every part of your extensive dominions; which that heaven may preserve entire to your majesty and your descendants, is the sincere prayer of your majesty's most dutiful subjects and servants.

To the Right Hon. Lord Dartmouth, &c.

MY LORD,

BEING deeply apprehensive of the impending calamities that threaten the nation and its colonies, through the present unhappy dissensions, I have attentively considered by what possible means those calamities may be prevented. The great importance of a business which concerns us all, will, I hope, in some degree excuse me to your lordship, if I presume unasked to offer my humble opinion, that should his majesty think fit to authorise delegates from the several provinces to meet, at such convenient time and place, as in his wisdom shall seem meet, then and there to confer with a commissioner or commissioners to be appointed and empowered by his majesty, on the means of establishing a firm and lasting union between Britain and the American provinces, such a measure might be effectual for that purpose. I cannot, therefore, but wish it may be adopted, as no one can more ardently and sincerely desire the general prosperity of the British dominions, than, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Remarks on the Propositions.

Art. 1, In consequence of that engagement all the Boston and Massachusetts acts to be suspended, and in compliance with that engagement to be totally repealed.

By this amendment, article 4th will become unnecessary.

Art. 4 and 5, The numerous petitions heretofore sent home by the colony assemblies, and either refuse to be received, or received and neglected, or answered harshly, and the petitioners rebuked for making them, have, I conceive, totally discouraged that method of application, and if even their friends were now to propose to them the recurring again to petitioning, such friends would be thought to trifle with them. Besides, *all* they desire is now before government in the petition of the congress, and the whole or parts may be granted or refused at pleasure. The sense of the colonies cannot be better obtained by petition from different colonies, than it is by that general petition.

Art. 7, Read, *such as they may think necessary.*

Art. 11, As it stands, of little importance. The first proposition was, that they should be repealed as unjust. But they may remain, for they will probably not be executed.

Even with the amendment proposed above to article 1, I cannot think it stands as it should do. If the object be merely the preventing present bloodshed, and the other mischiefs to fall on that country in war, it may possibly answer that end; but if a thorough hearty reconciliation is wished for, all cause of heart-burning should be removed, and strict justice be done on both sides. Thus the tea should not only be paid for on the side of Boston, but the damage done to Boston by the port act should be repaired, because it was done contrary to the custom of all nations, savage as well as civilized, of first demanding satisfaction.

Art. 14, The judges should receive nothing from the king.

As to the other two acts. The Massachusetts must suffer all the hazards and mischiefs of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charters and laws by parliament. "They

who can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

B. FRANKLIN.

HINTS.

I doubt the regulating duties will not be accepted, without enacting them, and having the power of appointing the collectors in the colonies.

If we mean a hearty reconciliation, we must deal candidly, and use no tricks.

The assemblies are many of them in a state of dissolution. It will require time to make new elections; then to meet and chuse delegates, supposing all could meet. But the assembly of the Massachusetts Bay cannot act under the new constitution, nor meet the new council for that purpose, without acknowledging the power of parliament to alter their charter, which they never will do. The language of the proposal is, *Try on your fetters first, and then if you don't like them, petition and we will consider.*

Establishing salaries for judges may be a general law. For governors not so, the constitution of colonies differing. It is possible troops may be sent to *particular* provinces, to burthen them when they are out of favor.

Canada.—We cannot endure despotism over any of our fellow-subjects. We must all be free, or none.

That afternoon I received the following note from Mrs. Howe, inclosing another from lord Howe, viz.

MRS. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin; she has just received the inclosed note from lord Howe, and hopes it will be convenient to him to come to her either to-morrow or Sunday, at any hour most convenient to him, which she begs he will be so good to name.

Grafton street, Friday, Feb. 17, 1775.

[Inclosed in the foregoing]

To the Honorable Mrs. Howe.

I WISH you to procure me an opportunity to see Dr. Franklin at your house to-morrow, or on Sunday morning, for an essential purpose.

Grafton street, Friday, 4 o'clock.

Received Friday, 5 o'clock, Feb. 17, 1775.

I had not heard from his lordship for some time, and readily answered, that I would do myself the honor of waiting upon him at her house to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Barclay, Dr. Fothergill, and myself, met according to appointment at the doctor's house. I delivered to them the REMARKS I had made on the paper, and we talked them over. I read, also, the sketches I had made of the petitions and memorials; but they being of opinion, that the repeal of none of the Massachusetts acts could be obtained by my engaging to pay for the tea, the Boston port act excepted, and I insisting on a repeal of *all*, otherwise declining to make the offer, that measure was deferred for the present, and I pocketed my draughts. They concluded, however, to report my sentiments, and see if any further concession could be obtained. They observed, that I had signed my remarks, on which I said, that understanding by other means as well as from them, that the ministers had been acquainted with my being consulted in this business, I saw no occasion for further mystery; and since in conveying and receiving through second hands their sentiments and mine, occasioned delay, and might be attended with misapprehension, something being lost or changed by mistake in the conveyance, I did not see why we should not meet, and discuss the points together at once; that if this was thought proper, I should be willing and ready to attend them to the ministerial persons they conferred with. They seemed to approve the proposal, and said they would mention it.

The next morning I met lord Howe, according to appointment. He seemed very cheerful, having, as I imagine, heard from lord Hyde what that lord might have heard from Mr. Barclay the evening of the 16th, viz. that I had consented to petition and engage payment for the tea; whence it was hoped, the ministerial terms of accommodation might take place. He let me know that he was thought of to be sent commissioner for settling the differences in America; adding, with an excess of politeness, that sensible of his own unacquaintedness with the business, and of my knowledge and abilities, he could not think of undertaking it without me; but with me, he should do it most readily; for he should found his expectation of success on my assistance; he therefore had desired this meeting to know my mind upon a proposition of my going with him in some shape or other, as a friend, an assistant, a secretary: that he was very sensible, if he should be so happy as to effect any thing valuable, it must be wholly owing to the advice and assistance I should afford him; that he should therefore make no scruple of giving me upon all occasions the full honor of it; that he had declared to the ministers his opinion of my good dispositions towards peace, and what he now wished was to be authorised by me to say, that I consented to accompany him, and would co-operate with him in the great work of reconciliation; that the influence I had over the minds of people in America, was known to be very extensive; and that I could, if any man could, prevail with them to comply with reasonable propositions. I replied, that I was obliged to his lordship for the favorable opinion he had of me, and for the honor he did me in proposing to make use of my assistance; that I wished to know what propositions were intended for America; that if they were reasonable ones in themselves, possibly I might be able to make them appear such to my countrymen; but if they were otherwise, I doubted whether that could be done by any man, and certainly I should not undertake it. His lordship then said, that he should not expect my *assistance* without a *proper consideration*. That the business was of

great importance, and if he undertook it, he should insist on being enabled to make *generous* and *ample* appointments for those he took with him, particularly for me; as well as a firm promise of *subsequent rewards*; and, said he, that the ministry may have an opportunity of showing their good disposition towards yourself, will you give me leave, Mr. Franklin, to procure for you previously some mark of it; suppose the payment here of the arrears of your salary as agent for New England, which I understand they have stopped for some time past? My lord, said I, I shall deem it a great honor to be in any shape joined with your lordship in so good a work; but if you hope service from any influence I may be supposed to have, drop all thoughts of procuring me any previous favors from ministers; my accepting them would destroy the very influence you propose to make use of; they would be considered as so many bribes to betray the interest of my country: but only let me see the *propositions*, and if I approve of them, I shall not hesitate a moment, but will hold myself ready to accompany your lordship at an hour's warning. He then said, he wished I would discourse with lord Hyde upon the business, and asked if I had any objection to meet his lordship? I answered none, not the least; that I had a great respect for lord Hyde, and would wait upon him whenever he should please to permit it. He said he would speak to lord Hyde, and send me word.

On the Monday following I received a letter from lord Howe. To understand it better, it is necessary to reflect, that in the meantime there was opportunity for Mr. Barclay to communicate to that nobleman the REMARKS I had made on the plan, the sight of which had probably changed the purpose of making any use of me on the occasion. The letter follows.

Grafton street, Feb. 20, 1775.

NOT having had a convenient opportunity to talk with lord Hyde until this morning, on the subject I mentioned when I had, my worthy friend, the pleasure to see you last,

I now give you the earliest information of his lordship's sentiments upon my proposition.

He declares he has no personal objection, and that he is always desirous of the conversation of men of knowlege, consequently, in that respect, would have a pleasure in yours. But he apprehends, that on the present American contest, your principles and his, or rather those of parliament, are as yet so wide from each other, that a meeting merely to discuss them, might give you unnecessary trouble. Should you think otherwise, or should any propitious circumstances approximate such distant sentiments, he would be happy to be used as a channel to convey what might tend to harmony, from a person of credit to those in power: and I will venture to advance, from my knowlege of his lordship's opinion of men and things, that nothing of that nature would suffer in the passage.

I am, with a sincere regard, your most obedient servant,
To Dr. Franklin. HOWE.

As I had no desire of obtruding myself upon lord Hyde, though a little piqued at his declining to see me, I thought it best to show a decent indifference, which I endeavored in the following answer.

Craven street, Feb. 20, 1775.

HAVING nothing to offer on the American business, in addition to what lord Hyde is already acquainted with from the papers that have passed, it seems most respectful not to give his lordship the trouble of a visit; since a mere discussion of the sentiments contained in those papers, is not, in his opinion, likely to produce any good effect. I am thankful, however, to his lordship, for the permission of waiting on him, which I shall use if any thing occurs that may give a chance of utility in such an interview.

With sincere esteem and respect, I have the honor to be,
my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

Lord Howe.

B. FRANKLIN.

On the morning of the same day, February 20, it was currently and industriously reported all over the town, that lord North would that day make a pacific motion in the house of commons, for healing all differences between Britain and America. The house was accordingly very full, and the members full of expectation. The Bedford party, inimical to America, and who had urged severe measures, were alarmed, and began to exclaim against the minister for his timidity, and the fluctuation of his *politics*; they even began to count voices, to see if they could not, by negativing his motion, at once unhorse him, and throw him out of administration. His friends were therefore alarmed for him, and there was much caballing and whispering. At length a motion, as one had been promised, was made, but whether that originally intended, is with me very doubtful: I suspect, from its imperfect composition, from its inadequateness to answer the purpose previously professed, and from some other circumstances, that when first drawn it contained more of Mr. Barclay's plan, but was curtailed by advice, just before it was delivered. My old proposition of giving up the regulating duties to the colonies, was in part to be found in it, and many who knew nothing of that transaction, said it was the best part of the motion: it was as follows:

Lord North's Motion, Feb. 20, 1775.

“That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as

such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties at it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett-produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation exclusively."

After a good deal of wild debate, in which this motion was supported upon various and inconsistent principles by the ministerial people, and even met with an opposition from some of them, which showed a want of concert, probably from the suddenness of the alterations above supposed, they all agreed at length, as usual, in voting it by a large majority. Hearing nothing all the following week from Mess. Barclay and Fothergill, (except that lord Hyde, when acquainted with my willingness to engage for payment of the tea, had said it gave him *new life*,) nor any thing from lord Howe, I mentioned his silence occasionally to his sister, adding, that I supposed it owing to his finding what he had proposed to me was not likely to take place; and I wished her to desire him, if that was the case, to let me know it by a line, that I might be at liberty to take other measures. She did so as soon as he returned from the country, where he had been for a day or two; and I received from her the following note, viz.

MRS. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin: lord Howe not quite understanding the message received from her, will be glad to have the pleasure of seeing him, either between twelve and one this morning, (the only hour he is at liberty this day,) at her house, or at any hour to-morrow most convenient to him.

Grafton street, Tuesday.

I met his lordship at the hour appointed. He said that he had not seen me lately, as he expected daily to have something more material to say to me than had yet occurred; and hoped that I would have called on lord Hyde, as I had

intimated I should do when I apprehended it might be useful, which he was sorry to find I had not done. That there was something in my verbal message by Mrs. Howe, which perhaps she had apprehended imperfectly; it was the hint of my purpose to take other measures. I answered, that having since I had last seen his lordship heard of the death of my wife at Philadelphia, in whose hands I had left the care of my affairs there, it was become necessary for me to return thither as soon as conveniently might be; that what his lordship had proposed, of my accompanying him to America, might, if likely to take place, postpone my voyage to suit his conveniency; otherwise, I should proceed by the first ship. That I did suppose, by not hearing from him, and by lord North's motion, all thoughts of that kind were laid aside, which was what I only desired to know from him. He said my last paper of REMARKS by Mr. Barclay, wherein I had made the indemnification of Boston for the injury of stopping its port, a condition of my engaging to pay for the tea, (a condition impossible to be complied with,) had discouraged further proceeding on that idea. Having a copy of that paper in my pocket, I showed his lordship that I had proposed no such condition of my engagement, nor any other than the repeal of all the Massachusetts acts: that what followed relating to the indemnification was only expressing my private opinion that it would be just, but by no means insisting upon it. He said the arrangements were not yet determined on; that as I now explained myself, it appeared I had been much misapprehended; and he wished of all things I would see lord Hyde, and asked if I would chuse to meet him there, at Mrs. Howe's, or that he should call upon me: I said that I would by no means give lord Hyde that trouble. That since he (lord Howe) seemed to think it might be of use, and wished it done soon, I would wait upon lord Hyde: I knew him to be an early riser, and would be with him at 8 o'clock the next morning; which lord Howe undertook to acquaint him with: but I added, that from what circumstances I could collect of the disposition of ministry, I apprehended my visit

would answer no material purpose. He was of a different opinion, to which I submitted.

The next morning, March 1st, I accordingly was early with lord Hyde, who received me with his usual politeness. We talked over a great part of the dispute between the countries. I found him ready with all the newspaper and pamphlet topics, of the expense of settling our colonies, the protection afforded them, the heavy debt under which Britain labored, the equity of our contributing to its alleviation; that many people in England were no more represented than we were, yet all were taxed and governed by parliament, &c. &c. I answered all, but with little effect; for though his lordship seemed civilly to hear what I said, I had reason to believe he attended very little to the purport of it, his mind being employed the while in thinking on what he himself purposed to say next. He had hoped, he said, that lord North's motion would have been satisfactory; and asked what could be objected to it. I replied, the terms of it were, that we should grant money till parliament had agreed we had given enough, without having the least share in judging of the propriety of the measure for which it was to be granted, or of our own abilities to grant; that these grants were also to be made under a threat of exercising a claimed right of taxing us at pleasure, and compelling such taxes by an armed force, if we did not give till it should be thought we had given enough; that the proposition was similar to no mode of obtaining aids that ever existed, except that of a highwayman, who presents his pistol and hat at a coach window, demanding no specific sum, but if you will give all your money, or what he is pleased to think sufficient, he will civilly omit putting his own hand into your pockets: if not, there is his pistol: that the mode of raising contributions in an enemy's country was fairer than this, since there an explicit sum was demanded, and the people who were raising it knew what they were about, and when they should have done:—and that, in short, no free people could ever think of beginning to grant upon such terms: that, besides, a new dispute had now been rais-

ed, by the parliament's pretending to a power of altering our charters and established laws, which was of still more importance to us than their claim of taxation, as it set us all adrift, and left us without a privilege we could depend upon, but at their pleasure; this was a situation we could not possibly be in, and as lord North's proposition had no relation to this matter, if the other had been such as we could have agreed to, we should still be far from a reconciliation. His lordship thought I misunderstood the proposition; on which I took it out and read it: he then waived that point, and said he should be glad to know from me what would produce a reconciliation. I said that his lordship, I imagined, had seen several proposals of mine for that purpose. He said he had; but some of my articles were such as would never be agreed to: that it was apprehended I had several instructions and powers to offer more acceptable terms, but was extremely reserved, and perhaps from a desire he did not blame, of doing better for my constituents; but my expectations might deceive me, and he did think, I might be assured, I should never obtain better terms than what were now offered by lord North; that administration had a sincere desire of restoring harmony with America, and it was thought if I would co-operate with them the business would be easy: that he hoped I was above retaining resentment against them, for what nobody now approved, and for which satisfaction might be made me: that I was, as he understood, in high esteem among the Americans; that if I would bring about a reconciliation on terms suitable to the dignity of government, I might be as highly and generally esteemed here, and be honored and *rewarded* perhaps *beyond my expectation*.

I replied, that I thought I had given a convincing proof of my sincere desire of promoting peace, when, on being informed that all wanted for the honor of government, was to obtain payment for the tea, I offered, without any instruction to warrant my so doing, or assurance that I should be reimbursed, or my conduct approved, to engage for that payment, if the Massachusetts acts were to be repealed; an engage-

ment in which I must have risked my whole fortune; which I thought few besides me would have done: that in truth, private resentments had no weight with me in public business; that I was not the reserved man imagined; having really no secret instructions to act upon. That I was certainly willing to do every thing that could reasonably be expected of me. But if any supposed I could prevail with my countrymen to take black for white, and wrong for right, it was not knowing either them or me: they were not capable of being so imposed on, nor was I capable of attempting it. He then asked my opinion of sending over a commissioner, for the purpose mentioned in a preceding part of this account; and my answer was to the same effect. By the way, I apprehend, that to give me an opportunity of discoursing with lord Hyde on that point, was a principal motive with lord Howe, for urging me to make this visit. His lordship did not express his own sentiments upon it. And thus ended this conversation.

Three or four days after, I received the following note from Mrs. Howe.

MRS. HOWE's compliments to Dr. Franklin: lord Howe begs to have the pleasure of meeting him once more before he goes, at her house; he is at present out of town, but returns on Monday, and any day or hour after that, that the doctor will name, he will be very glad to attend him.

Grafton street, Saturday. March 4 & 5.

I answered that I would do myself the honor of waiting on lord Howe at her house the Tuesday following, at eleven o'clock. We met accordingly. He began by saying, that I had been a better prophet than himself, in foreseeing that my interview with lord Hyde would be of no great use: and then said that he hoped I would excuse the trouble he had given me, as his intentions had been good both towards me and the public: he was sorry that at present there was no appearance of things going into the train he had wished, but that possibly they might yet take a more favorable turn; and as he understood I was going soon to America, if he should

chance to be sent thither on that important business, he hoped he might still expect my assistance. I assured him of my readiness at all times of co-operating with him in so good a work: and so taking my leave, and receiving his good wishes, ended the negotiation with lord Howe. And I heard no more of that with Messrs. Fothergill and Barclay: I could only gather from some hints in their conversation, that neither of them were well pleased with the conduct of the ministers respecting these transactions: and a few days before I left London, I met them by their desire, at the doctor's house, when they desired me to assure their friends from them, that it was now their fixed opinion, that nothing could secure the privileges of America, but a firm, sober adherence to the terms of the association made at the congress, and that the salvation of English liberty depended now on the perseverance and virtue of America.

During the whole, my time was otherwise much taken up, by friends calling continually to inquire news from America: members of both houses of parliament, to inform me what passed in the houses, and discourse with me on the debates, and on motions made or to be made; merchants of London and of the manufacturing and port towns on their petitions, the Quakers upon theirs, &c. &c., so that I had no time to take notes of almost any thing. This account is therefore chiefly from recollection, in which doubtless much must have been omitted, from deficiency of memory; but what there is I believe to be pretty exact; except that discoursing with so many different persons about the same time, on the same subject, I may possibly have put down some things as said by or to one person, which passed in conversation with another. A little before I left London, being at the house of lords, when a debate in which lord Camden was to speak, and who indeed spoke admirably on American affairs, I was much disgusted, from the ministerial side, by many base reflections on American courage, religion, understanding, &c. in which we were treated with the utmost contempt, as the lowest of

mankind, and almost of a different species from the English of Britain; but particularly the American honesty was abused by some of the lords, who asserted that we were all knaves, and wanted only by this dispute to avoid paying our debts; that if we had any sense of equity or justice, we should offer payment of the tea, &c. I went home somewhat irritated and heated; and partly to retort upon this nation, on the article of *equity*, drew up a memorial to present to lord Dartmouth before my departure; but consulting my friend, Mr. Thomas Walpole upon it, who is a member of the house of commons, he looked at it and at me several times alternately, as if he apprehended me a little out of my senses. As I was in the hurry of packing up, I requested him to take the trouble of showing it to his neighbor lord Camden, and ask his advice upon it, which he kindly undertook to do; and returned it me with a note, which here follows the proposed memorial.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

A Memorial of Benjamin Franklin, Agent of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

WHEREAS an injury done, can only give the party injured a right to full reparation; or, in case that be refused, a right to return an equal injury; and whereas the blockade of Boston, now continued nine months, hath every week of its continuance done damage to that town, equal to what was suffered there by the India company; it follows that such *exceeding* damage is an *injury* done by this government for which reparation ought to be made. And whereas reparation of injuries ought always (agreeably to the custom of all nations savage as well as civilized) to be first required before satisfaction is taken by a return of damage to the aggressors; which was not done by Great Britain in the instance abovementioned; I the underwritten, do therefore, as their agent, in the behalf of my country and the town of Boston, protest against the continuance of the said blockade: and I do hereby solemnly

demand satisfaction for the accumulated injury done them, beyond the value of the India company's tea destroyed. And whereas the conquest of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the coasts of Labrador and Nova Scotia, and the fisheries possessed by the French there and on the banks of Newfoundland, so far as they were more extended than at present, was made by the *joint forces* of Britain and the colonies, the latter having nearly an equal number of men in that service with the former; it follows that the colonies have an equitable and just right to participate in the advantage of those fisheries: I do therefore, in the behalf of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, protest against the act now under consideration in parliament, for depriving that province, with others, of that fishery (on pretence of their refusing to purchase British commodities) as an act highly unjust and injurious: and I give notice, that satisfaction will probably one day be demanded for all the injury that may be done and suffered in the execution of such act: and that the injustice of the proceeding is likely to give such umbrage to *all the colonies*, that in no future war, wherein other conquests may be meditated, either a man or a shilling will be obtained from any of them to aid such conquests, till full satisfaction be made as aforesaid.

B. FRANKLIN.

Given in London, this 16th day of March, 1775.

To Dr. Franklin.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you the memorial, which it is thought might be attended with dangerous consequences to your person, and contribute to exasperate the nation.

I heartily wish you a prosperous voyage, a long health, and am, with the sincerest regard, your most faithful and obedient servant,

THOMAS WALPOLE.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, 16th March, 1775.

Mr. Walpole called at my house the next day, and hearing I was gone to the house of lords, came there to me, and

repeated more fully what was in his note; adding, that it was thought my having no instructions directing me to deliver such a protest, would make it appear still more unjustifiable, and be deemed a national affront: I had no desire to make matters worse, and, being grown cooler, took the advice so kindly given me.

The evening before I left London, I received a note from Dr. Fothergill, with some letters to his friends in Philadelphia. In that note he desires me to get those friends, "and two or three more together, and inform them, that whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow; and that to get a larger field on which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites, is all that is regarded. Perhaps it may be proper to acquaint them with David Barclay's and our united endeavors, and the effects. They will stun at least, if not convince, the most worthy, that nothing very favorable is intended, if more unfavorable articles cannot be obtained." The doctor in the course of his daily visits among the great, in the practice of his profession, had full opportunity of being acquainted with their sentiments, the conversation every where turning upon the subject of America.

Here unfortunately Dr. Franklin's interesting narrative closes, and the editor is forced to resume.

During the passage to America, Dr. Franklin not only occupied himself in writing the preceding narrative of his noble efforts to prevent a war, which the rapacity and infatuation of the British ministry utterly defeated, but he likewise employed himself in making experiments and observations on the waters of the ocean, by means of the thermometer, in order to ascertain the exact course of the gulph stream; by the knowlege of which, mariners might hereafter avoid or avail themselves of its current, according to their various destinations.* These experiments and observations

* It is ascertained by Dr. Franklin's experiments, that a navigator may always know when he is in the gulph stream, by the warmth of the water,

will be found in their appropriate place—his philosophical works; but the following general reflections connected therewith, by this friend of the human race, may with propriety be here introduced.

“Navigation, when employed in supplying necessary provisions to a country in want, and thereby preventing famines, which were more frequent and destructive before the invention of that art, is undoubtedly a blessing to mankind. When employed merely in transporting superfluities, it is a question whether the advantage of the employment it affords is equal to the mischief of hazarding so many lives on the ocean. But when employed in *pillaging merchants* and *transporting slaves*, it is clearly the means of augmenting the mass of human misery. It is amazing to think of the ships and lives risked in fetching tea from China, coffee from Arabia, sugar and tobacco from America, all which our ancestors did well without. Sugar employs near one thousand ships, tobacco almost as many. For the utility of tobacco there is little to be said; and for that of sugar, how much more commendable would it be, if we could give up the few minutes gratification afforded once or twice a day by the taste of sugar in our tea, rather than encourage the cruelties exercised in producing it. An eminent French moralist says, that when he considers the wars we excite in Africa to obtain slaves, the numbers necessarily slain in those wars, the many prisoners who perish at sea by sickness, bad provisions, foul air, &c. in the transportation, and how many afterwards die from the hardships of slavery, he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained *with spots of human blood!* had he added the consideration of the wars we make to take and retake the sugar islands from one another, and the fleets and armies that perish in those expeditions, he might have seen his sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain! It

which is much greater than that of the water on either side of it. If, then, he is bound to the *westward*, he should cross the stream to get out of it as soon as possible; and if to the *eastward*, endeavor to remain in it.

is these wars that made the maritime powers of Europe, the inhabitants of London and Paris, pay dearer for sugar than those of Vienna, a thousand miles from the sea; because their sugar costs not only the price they pay for it by the pound, but all they pay in taxes to maintain the fleets and armies that fight for it."

END OF PART III.

PART IV.

AFTER a very pleasant passage of about six weeks, Dr. Franklin arrived at the Capes of Delaware, was landed at Chester, and thence proceeded by land to Philadelphia, where every mark of respect, attachment, and veneration was shown him by his fellow-citizens; and the very day after his arrival he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a delegate to congress. In short, his public services met with the most flattering rewards that a patriot could possibly desire.

Shortly after his arrival, he thus notices the then state of the colonies, in a letter of May 16, 1775, to a friend in London.

“You will have heard, before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the British troops into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours.[†]

“The governor of Massachusetts had called the assembly to propose lord North’s pacific plan; but before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats: you know it was said, he carried the *sword* in one hand, and the *olive branch* in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the *sword* first. He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed, is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

“All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.”

[†] The battle of Lexington, 19th April, 1775.

And to the same friend he wrote some weeks after—

“The congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of general Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried in that assembly, another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain *one more chance*, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which however I think she has not sense enough to embrace, so I conclude she has lost them for ever.”^u

^u Never was a prediction more completely verified. The following is a copy of the petition referred to by Dr. Franklin, and to which an answer was refused to be given.

TO THE KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, entreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavorable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of antient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

In the same letter he adds, "My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honorable acknowledgements of their merits remained on record, in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country; for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and, if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for

in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest una-

stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty, on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favorable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation, against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them, upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and

nimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us, from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per

maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system beforementioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating these important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honor to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire,
John Langdon,
Thomas Cushing.

Massachusetts Bay,
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Rob. Treat Paine.

Rhode Island,
Stephen Hopkins,
Samuel Ward,
Eliphalet Dyer,

Connecticut,
Roger Sherman,
Silas Dean.

New York,
Ph. Livingston,
James Duane,
John Alsop,
Francis Lewis,
John Jay,
R. Livingston, jun.
Lewis Morris,
William Floyd,
Henry Wisner.

annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones."

It was about this time that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion Mr. Strahan, (then king's printer, and member of the British parliament for Malmsbury,) of which a fac-simile is given.

The following proposed *Introduction to a resolution of congress*, (not passed) drawn up by Dr. Franklin, is also fully expressive of his warm feelings and sentiments at that period.

Whereas the British nation, through great corruption of manners and extreme dissipation and profusion, both private and public, have found all honest resources insufficient to supply their excessive luxury and prodigality, and thereby have been driven to the practice of every injustice, which avarice could dictate or rapacity execute: and whereas, not satisfied with the immense plunder of the East, obtained by sacrificing millions of the human species, they have lately turned their eyes to the West, and grudging us the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of our hard labor and virtuous industry, have for years past been endeavoring to ex-

New Jersey,

Wm. Livingston,
John Deharts,
Richard Smith.

Pennsylvania,

Benj. Franklin,
John Dickinson,
George Ross,
James Wilson,
Chas. Humphreys.
Edward Biddle.

Delaware County,

Cæsar Rodney,
Tho. M'Kean,
George Read.

Maryland,

Matt. Tilghman,
Tho. Johnson, jun.,

Philadelphia, July 8, 1775.

William Paca,
Samuel Chase.
Thomas Stone.

Virginia,

P. Henry, jun.
R. Henry Lee,
Edm. Pendleton,
Benj. Harrison,
Thos. Jefferson.

North Carolina,
William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes.

South Carolina,
Henry Middleton,
Thomas Lynch,
Christ. Gadsden,
J. Rutledge,
Edw. Rutledge.

Philad^a July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,*

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
ruined my Country to Destruction. —
You have begun to burn our Towns
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
once Friends: — You are now my Enemy
— and

I am,

Yours,
B Franklin

tort the same from us, under color of laws regulating trade; and have thereby actually succeeded in draining us of large sums, to our great loss and detriment: and whereas, impatient to seize the whole, they have at length proceeded to open robbery, declaring by a solemn act of parliament, that all our estates are theirs, and all our property found upon the sea divisible among such of their armed plunderers as shall take the same; and have even dared in the same act to declare, that all the spoilings, thefts, burnings of houses and towns, and murders of innocent people, perpetrated by their wicked and inhuman corsairs on our coasts, previous to any war declared against us, were just actions, and shall be so deemed, contrary to several of the commandments of God, (which by this act, they presume to *repeal*) and to all the principles of right, and all the ideas of justice, entertained heretofore by every other nation, savage as well as civilized; thereby manifesting themselves to be *hostes humani generis*. And whereas it is not possible for the people of America to subsist under such continual ravages without making some reprisals,

Therefore resolved,—

* * * * *

Affairs having now assumed a most serious aspect, it was necessary for the Americans to adopt proper and efficacious means of resistance. They possessed little or no coin, and even arms and ammunition were wanting. In this situation, the adoption of paper money became indispensably necessary, and Dr. Franklin was one of the first to demonstrate the necessity and propriety of that measure. Without this *succedaneum*, it would have been impossible to have made any other than a feeble and a short resistance against Great Britain.

The first emission, to the amount of three millions of dollars, accordingly took place on the 25th of July, 1775, under a promise of exchanging the notes against gold or silver in the space of three years; and towards the end of 1776, more than twenty-one millions additional were put in circulation. The congress at length began to be uneasy, not knowing how it would be possible to redeem so large a sum; and some of its members having waited upon Dr. Franklin in order to consult him upon this occasion, he spoke to them as follows: “Do not make yourselves unhappy; continue to issue your paper money as long as it will pay for the paper, ink, and printing,

and we shall be enabled by its means to liquidate all the expenses of the war."

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by congress, jointly with his colleagues colonel Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and in conjunction with the commander in chief, (general Washington,) to endeavor to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was afterwards sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavor to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.^u The ill success of this negotiation was supposed to be occasioned in a great degree by religious animosities, which subsisted between the Canadians and their neighbors; some of whom had at different times burnt their places of worship.

On his return from Canada, Dr. Franklin, under the direction of congress, wrote to M. Dumas, the American agent in Holland, urging him to sound the several governments of Europe, by means of their ambassadors at the Hague, as to any assistance they might be disposed to afford America, in case of her eventually breaking off all connexion with Britain, and declaring herself an *independent nation*.

This decisive measure was now generally agitated throughout the colonies; though it is certain that at the beginning of the differences, the bulk of the people acted from no fixed and determined principle whatever, and had not even an idea

^u It was directed that a printing apparatus and hands competent to print in French and English should accompany this mission. Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred *could not read*. Dr. Franklin was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, suggested that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

of independence; for all the addresses from the different colonies were filled with professions of loyalty towards their sovereign, and breathed the most ardent wishes for an immediate reconciliation.

The congress deeming it advisable to know the general opinion on so important a point, took an opportunity of feeling the pulse of the people, and of preparing them for the declaration of independence, by a circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it necessary that all authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the *prohibitory act*, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petitions for redress of grievances, and a reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction.

At length this important question was discussed in congress, and at a time when the fleets and armies which were sent to enforce obedience, were truly formidable. The debate continued for several days, and the scheme encountered great opposition from several distinguished orators. Eventually, however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the country then labored under, from an army ignorant of discipline, and entirely unskilled in the art of war;—without a fleet—without allies—and with nothing but the love of liberty to support them; the colonies, by their representatives in congress, determined to separate from a country which had added injury to insult, and disregarded all the pacific overtures they had made to it. On this question Dr. Franklin was decidedly in favor of the measure proposed, and used all his great influence in bringing others over to his opinion.

The public mind, which had already been drawn that way by the manifesto of congress, was now confirmed in its decision, by the appearance of Paine's celebrated pamphlet, "*Common Sense*;" and there is good reason to believe, that

Dr. Franklin had no inconsiderable share, at least in furnishing materials for that work.^v

It was on the 4th day of July, 1776, that the thirteen English colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, and by an act of congress abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connection with Great Britain.

This public record, the first declaration of the rights of a people to establish, and if necessary to their happiness, to abrogate their own form of government, and to hold the sovereignty inalienably in the people, was produced in a committee of three members of congress; it was definitively drafted (and adopted, with a few slight alterations) by that eminent patriot, philosopher, and friend of mankind, Thomas Jefferson, then one of the representatives in congress for Virginia: as a document of considerable interest and curiosity, and as a monument of one of the most important political events in which Dr. Franklin was concerned, it is here noticed.

In the beginning of this year, 1776, an act of the British parliament passed, to prohibit and restrain, on the one hand, the trade and intercourse of the *refractory colonies* respectively, during their revolt; and on the other hand, to enable persons appointed by the British king to grant *pardons*, and declare any particular district in the *king's peace*, &c. Lord Howe (who had been previously appointed commander of the British fleet in North America) was, on May 3, declared *joint commissioner* with his brother general Howe, for the latter purposes of the act. He sailed May 12, and while off the coast of Massachusetts, prepared a declaration, announcing this commission, and accompanied it with circular letters.

^v Thomas Paine did not affect any reserve on this point; without any inquiry on the subject, he stated to the writer of this note, that the suggestion of the papers *Common Sense* was made to him by Dr. Franklin; and that the fulness of his ideas were such, that after a conversation with him, his own mind was so much excited that he could not but communicate the spirit of the conversation in his essays: he also said that one or two papers were revised by the doctor, but with very few alterations.

Lord Howe took occasion to publish every where, that he had proposals to make on the part of Great Britain, tending to *peace and reconciliation*, and that he was ready to communicate them. He at the same time permitted the American general, Sullivan, to go on his parole, and give this intelligence to the Congress: he hoped, by this means, to create divisions in that body, and throughout the country. The Congress were of opinion, the admiral could have no terms to offer, but such as the act of parliament empowered him to offer, which were, *PARDON upon submission*; yet as the people might imagine more, and be uneasy if he was not heard, they appointed three of their body, Mess. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, to meet him. His lordship chose Staten Island, which was in possession of the English troops, for the place of conference. The committee being arrived at Amboy, a small town in New Jersey, opposite to the island, and in possession of the Americans, the admiral sent over his barge to receive and bring them to him, and to leave one of his principal officers as a hostage for their safe return. The committee of congress had not desired a hostage, and they therefore took the officer back with them. The admiral met them at their landing, and conducted them through his guards to a convenient room for conference: he was surprised at their confidence, in bringing back his hostage; and more at the little estimation in which they appeared to hold his offers of pardon, and of inquiring into grievances. He seemed to have flattered himself, that the congress, humbled by their late losses, would have been submissive and compliant: he found himself mistaken. The committee told him firmly, that if he had nothing else to propose, he was come too late: the humble petitions of congress had been rejected with contempt; independence was now declared, and the new government formed. And when in endeavoring to cajole them, he expressed his "affection for America, his concern in viewing her dangerous situation, and said that to see her fall would give him the same pain as to see a brother fall," they answered, that it was kind, but America would endeavor to spare him that pain.

They returned and reported the conference to congress, who published it, and the people were satisfied that they had no safety but in arms.

Part of the correspondence between lord Howe and Dr. Franklin on this occasion, and the joint report of the American commissioners on the result of their mission, was published; the first letter of lord Howe and the answer of the doctor have been already published,^w but the reply of lord Howe and the following prefatory note, by doctor Franklin, have not appeared before the present time.

These letters were published in London, to show the insolence of the *insurgents*, in refusing the offer of pardon upon submission made to them by the British plenipotentiaries. They undoubtedly deserve the attention of the public for another reason, the proof they afford that the commerce of America is deemed by the ministry themselves of such vast importance, as to justify the horrid and expensive war they are now waging, to maintain the monopoly of it; that being the principal cause stated by lord Howe; though their pensioned writers and speakers in parliament have affected to treat that commerce as a trifle. And they demonstrate further, of how much importance it is to the rest of Europe, that the continuance of that monopoly should be obstructed, and the general freedom of trade, now offered by the Americans, preserved; since by no other means the enormous growing power of Britain, both by sea and land, so formidable to her neighbors, and which must follow her success, can possibly be prevented.

To Dr. Franklin.

Eagle, off Staten Island, August the 16th, 1776.

I AM sorry, my worthy friend, that it is only on the assurances you give me, of my having still preserved a place

^w The letter of lord Howe and the answer of Dr. Franklin will be found in Vol. V. of this edition, page 393.

in your esteem, that I can now found a pretension to trouble you with a reply to your favor of the 21st past.

I can have no difficulty to acknowledge, that the powers I am invested with, were never calculated to negotiate a reunion with America, under any other description than as subject to the crown of Great Britain: but I do esteem those powers competent, not only to confer and negotiate with any gentlemen of influence in the colonies upon the terms, but also to effect a lasting peace and reunion between the two countries; were the temper of the colonies such as professed in the last petition of the congress to the king. America would have judged in the discussion how far the means were adequate to the end; both for engaging her confidence and proving our integrity. Nor did I think it necessary to say more in my public declaration; not conceiving it could be understood to refer to peace, on any other conditions but those of mutual interest to both countries, which could alone render it permanent.

But as I perceive, from the tenor of your letter, how little I am to reckon upon the advantage of your assistance for restoring that permanent union which has long been the object of my endeavors, and which I flattered myself when I left England, would be in the compass of my power; I will only add, that as the dishonor to which you deem me exposed by my military situation in this country, has effected no change in your sentiments of personal regard towards me, so shall no difference in political points alter my desire of proving how much I am your sincere and obedient humble servant,

HOWE.

IN CONGRESS, Sept. 2d, 1776.

Congress being informed that general Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was come to Philadelphia with a message from lord Howe,

Ordered, that he be admitted, and heard before congress.

General Sullivan being admitted, delivered the verbal message he was in charge from lord Howe, which he was desired to reduce to writing and withdrew.

September 3d.

General Sullivan, having reduced to writing the verbal message from lord Howe, the same was laid before congress and read as follows.

The following is the purport of the message sent from lord Howe to congress by general Sullivan.

That though he could not at present treat with congress as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider for the present only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, at such place as they should appoint.

That he in conjunction with general Howe had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which delayed him near two months in England, and prevented his arrival at this place before the declaration of independence took place.

That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into such agreement.

That in case congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not as yet asked, might and ought to be granted to them, and that if, upon the conference, they found any probable ground of an accommodation, the authority of congress must be afterwards acknowledged, otherwise the compact could not be complete.

September 5th.

Resolved, that general Sullivan be requested to inform lord Howe, that this congress being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters, but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same.

Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing resolution, be delivered to general Sullivan, and that he be directed immediately to repair to lord Howe.

September 6th.

Resolved, that the committee "to be sent to know whether lord Howe has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose, in behalf of America; and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same," consist of three.

The members chosen, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Edward Rutledge.

Eagle, off Bedlow's Island, Sept. 10, 1776.

LORD HOWE presents his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and according to the tenor of his favor of the 8th, will attend to have the pleasure of meeting him and Messrs. Adams and Rutledge to-morrow morning, at the house on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, as early as the few conveniences for travelling by land on Staten Island will admit. Lord Howe, upon his arrival at the place appointed, will send a boat (if he can procure it in time) with a flag of truce over to Amboy; and requests the doctor and the other gentlemen will postpone their intended favor of passing over to meet him, until they are informed as above of his arrival to attend them there.

In case the weather should prove unfavorable for lord Howe to pass in his boat to Staten Island to-morrow, as from the present appearance there is some reason to suspect, he will take the next earliest opportunity that offers for that purpose. In this intention he may be further retarded, having been an invalid lately; but will certainly give the most timely notice of that inability. He however flatters himself he shall not have occasion to make further excuses on that account.

September 13th.

The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, having returned, made a verbal report.

Ordered, that they make a report in writing, as soon as they conveniently can.

September 17th.

The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, agreeable to order brought in a report in writing which was read as follows,

In obedience to the orders of congress, we have had a meeting with lord Howe, it was on Wednesday last upon Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, where his lordship received and entertained us with the utmost politeness.

His lordship opened the conversation by acquainting us, that though he could not treat with us as a committee of congress, yet as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace between the two countries, he was glad of this opportunity of conferring with us on that subject, if we thought ourselves at liberty to enter into a conference with him in that character.

We observed to his lordship, that as our business was to hear, he might consider us in what light he pleased, and communicate to us any proposition he might be authorised to make for the purpose mentioned; but that we could consider ourselves in no other character than that in which we were placed by order of congress.

His lordship then entered into a discourse of considerable length, which contained no explicit proposition of peace except one, viz. that the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to the government of Great Britain. The rest consisted principally of assurances, that there was an exceeding good disposition in the king and his ministers to make that government easy to us, with intimations that in case of our submission they would cause the offensive acts of parliament to be revised, and the instructions to governors to be reconsidered; that so, if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn.

We gave it as our opinion to his lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. We mentioned the repeated humble petitions of the colonies to the king and parliament, which had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; the unexampled patience we had shown under their tyrannical government; and that it was not till the last act of parliament which denounced war against us, and put us out of the king's protection, that we declared our independence. That this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general; that every colony had approved of it, when made; and all now considered themselves as independent states, and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly; so that it was not in the power of congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state. That there was no doubt of their inclination to peace, and their willingness to enter into a treaty with Britain that might be advantageous to both countries. That though his lordship had at present no power to treat with them as independent states, he might, if there was the same good disposition in Britain, much sooner obtain fresh powers from thence, than powers could be obtained by congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.

His lordship then saying that he was sorry to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, put an end to the conference.

Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his lordship's commission contained any authority of importance other than what is expressed in the act of parliament, viz. that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make; and of declaring America or any part of it to be in the king's peace upon submission: for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any

persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might, after all, or might not at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.

Ordered that the above be published.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest, CHAS. THOMPSON, Secretary.

Congress in their manifesto had recommended to each colony, whose government was not already sufficient, to proceed to the institution of such a form, as was necessary to the preservation of internal peace, and suited to the then exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies. In conformity with this recommendation a convention was assembled at Philadelphia in July, 1776, for the purpose of settling a new form of government for the then *State* of Pennsylvania. Dr. Franklin was chosen president of this convention. The constitution formed and established at that period for Pennsylvania, was the result of the deliberations of that assembly, and may be considered as a digest of Dr. Franklin's principles of government. The single legislature and the plural executive, appear to have been his favorite tenets.*

The virtuous and unfortunate duke de la Rochefoucault, in his eulogium of Dr. Franklin, in 1790, thus remarks on this system of government.

* Mr. John Adams, whose want of liberality to Dr. Franklin continued through life, survived his death, and carried persecution against his grandson; has in a letter published in a Boston paper, betrayed a gross malevolence on the subject of this constitution of Pennsylvania; but experience has proved the misfortune of the change of a constitution which placed so many barriers against abuse, for one which has laid open every temptation to corruption in the inordinate patronage of the executive.

“ Franklin alone, disengaging the political machine from those multiplied movements and admired counterpoises that rendered it so complicated, proposed the reducing it to the simplicity of a *single legislative body*. This grand idea startled the legislators of Pennsylvania; but the philosopher removed the fears of a considerable number, and at length determined the whole to adopt a principle which the national assembly has made the basis of the French constitution.”

The same distinguished person adds in a note on this passage, of his printed oration,

“ The usual progress of the human mind leads man from the complex to the simple. Observe the works of the first mechanics overloaded with numerous pieces, some of which embarrass, and others diminish their effect. It has been the same with legislators, both speculative and practical; struck with an abuse, they have endeavored to correct it by institutions that have been productive of still greater abuses. In political economy the unity of the legislative body is the *maximum* of simplicity. Franklin was the first who dared to put this idea in practice: The respect the Pennsylvanians entertained for him induced them to adopt it; but the other states were terrified at it, and even the constitution of Pennsylvania has since been altered. In Europe this opinion has been more successful. When I had the honor to present to Franklin the translations of the constitutions of America, the minds of the people on this side the Atlantic were scarcely better disposed towards it than those on the other side; and if we except Dr. Price in England, and Turgot and Condorcet in France, no man who applied himself to politics agreed in opinion with the American philosopher. I will venture to assert that I was of the small number of those who were struck with the beauty of the simple plan he traced, and that I saw no reason to change my opinion when the national assembly, led by the voice of those deep-thinking and eloquent orators, who discussed that important question, established it as a principle of the French constitution, that legislation should be confided to a single body of representatives. It will

not perhaps be deemed unpardonable to have once mentioned myself, at a time when the honor I have of holding a public character makes it my duty to give an account of my sentiments to my fellow-citizens. France will not relapse into a more complex system, but will assuredly acquire the glory of maintaining that which she has established, and give it a degree of perfection which, by rendering a great nation happy, will attract the eyes and applauses of all Europe, and of the whole world.”—The prediction has not been verified as to France; but there requires much consideration of other contemporary causes, not likely to be revealed in the present day, before the true causes of the failure can be properly determined.

During Dr. Franklin’s presidency of the convention he drew up the following protest against the equality of voting in congress; but (as he acknowledged at the time) he was dissuaded from endeavoring to carry it through, from prudential considerations, respecting the necessary union at that critical period, of all the states in confederation.

PROTEST.

“We the representatives of the state of Pennsylvania, in full convention met, having duly considered the plan of confederation formed in congress, and submitted to the several states, for their assent or dissent, do hereby declare the dissent of this state to the same for the following reasons, viz.

“1st, Because the foundation of every confederation, intended to be lasting, ought to be laid in justice and equity, no unfair advantage being given to, or taken by, any of the contracting parties.

“2d, Because it is, in the nature of things, just and equal, that the respective states of the confederacy should be represented in congress, and have votes there in proportion to their importance, arising from their numbers of people, and the share and degree of strength they afford to the united body.

And therefore the XVIIIth article,^y which gives one vote to the smallest state and no more to the largest, when the difference between them may be as ten to one, or greater; is unjust, and injurious to the larger states, since all of them are, by other articles, obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective abilities.

“ 3d, Because the practice hitherto in congress, of allowing only one vote to each colony, was originally taken up under a conviction of its impropriety and injustice, was intended to be in some future time corrected, and was then and since submitted to only as a temporary expedient, to be used in ordinary business, until the means of rectifying the same could be obtained: this clearly appears by the resolve of congress, dated September 6, 1774, being the day of its meeting, which resolve is in these words, ‘That in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote, the congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.’ That importance has since been supposed to be best found in the numbers of the people; for the congress, not only by their resolution when the issuing of bills was agreed to, but by this present confederation, have judged, that the contribution towards sinking those bills and to the common expense, should be in proportion to such numbers, when they could be taken, which has not yet been done; and though the larger colonies submitted to this temporary inequality of representation, expecting it would much sooner have been rectified; it never was understood that by the resolution above cited, a power was given to the smaller states to fix that inequality upon them for ever, as those small states have now attempted to do, by combining to vote for this 17th article, and thereby to deprive the larger states of their just

^y This since forms part of the 5th article of the confederation as agreed to by all the states, except Maryland, on the 9th July, 1778; and finally ratified by the whole union, on the 1st March, 1781, (the state of Maryland acceding thereto.)

right, acknowledged in the same resolution. Smaller states having given us in advance, this striking instance of the injustice they are capable of, and of the possible effects of their combination, is of itself a sufficient reason for our determining not to put ourselves in their power, by agreeing to this article as it stands connected with those concerning the quotas of each state, since being a majority of states in congress, they may by the same means, at any time, deprive the larger states of any share in the disposition of our strength and wealth, and the management of our common interests.

“But as the smaller colonies may object, that if the larger are allowed a number of votes in proportion to their importance, the smaller will then be equally in danger of being overpowered and governed by them: we, not having the least desire of any influence or power that is unjust, or unequal, or disproportioned to the burthens we are to bear, do hereby offer our consent to the said 17th article as it now stands, provided the quotas to be contributed by the larger provinces shall be reduced to an equality with the smallest, in which case all, by contributing equally, will have a right to equal votes. Not that we mean thereby to avoid granting additional aids, when the exigence of our common interests shall appear to us to make them proper and necessary; but, leaving to the congress, with regard to such additional aids, the right of making requisitions as enjoyed by our late kings, we would reserve to ourselves the right of judging of the propriety of these requisitions, or of refusing or complying with them in part, or in the whole, as to us shall seem best, and of modifying our grants with such conditions as we shall judge necessary, in like manner as our assemblies might formerly do with regard to requisitions from the crown: for it appears to us just and reasonable, that we should retain the disposition of what strength we have, above the equal proportion contributed, as aforesaid, by our state to the common service, with every power necessary to apply the same, as occasions may arise, for our particular security; this we mean to do from this time forward, unless we are allowed

votes in congress, proportioned to the importance of our state, as was originally intended.

“Signed by order of the convention.”

Though this protest was not acted upon, for the reasons previously assigned by Dr. Franklin, it serves however, to show his opinion and arguments in support of a very important question of American legislation, and is an additional feature in his political mind.

American paper-money beginning to fall into disrepute, in 1776, and immediate supplies of arms and ammunition for the use of the army being absolutely necessary, congress turned their attention towards Europe, and to France in particular, for the purpose of obtaining aids in money and military stores, as the only means of resisting the power of Great Britain, and preserving their newly-acquired independence.

In the latter end of 1776, a commission was appointed for this object; and Dr. Franklin, though then in his 71st year, was considered, from his talents as a statesman, and reputation as a philosopher, the most suitable person to effect the desired end, and was consequently nominated commissioner plenipotentiary to the court of France, in conjunction with Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, esquires: the former had already been sent to Europe, for the purpose of secretly obtaining and forwarding warlike stores, &c., and the other had been employed by congress as a private and confidential agent in England.

Previous to Dr. Franklin's departure, he conceived it would be advisable, on many accounts, to be the bearer of propositions for peace with Great Britain; and with this view he drew up, and submitted to the secret committee of congress, the following paper.

Sketch of Propositions for a Peace, 1776.

There shall be a perpetual peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, on the following conditions.

Great Britain shall renounce and disclaim all pretence of right or authority to govern in any of the United States of America.

To prevent those occasions of misunderstanding which are apt to arise, where the territories of different powers border on each other, through the bad conduct of frontier inhabitants on both sides, Britain shall cede to the United States the provinces or colonies of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with all their adjoining and intermediate territories now claimed by her.

In return for this cession, the United States shall pay to Great Britain the sum of sterling, in annual payments, that is to say per annum, for and during the term of years.

And shall moreover grant a free trade to all British subjects throughout the United States and the ceded colonies, and shall guarantee to Great Britain the possession of her islands in the West Indies.

Motives for proposing a Peace at this time.

1, The having such propositions in charge, will by the law of nations be some protection to the commissioners or ambassadors, if they should be taken.

2, As the news of our declared independence will tend to unite in Britain all parties against us; so our offering peace with commerce and payments of money, will tend to divide them again: for peace is as necessary to them as to us: our commerce is wanted by their merchants and manufacturers, who will therefore incline to the accommodation, even though the monopoly is not continued, since it can be easily made appear, their *share* of our growing trade will soon be greater

than the *whole* has been heretofore. Then for the landed interest, who wish an alleviation of taxes, it is demonstrable by figures, that if we should agree to pay, suppose ten millions in one hundred years, viz. one hundred thousand pounds per annum for that term, it would, being faithfully employed as a sinking fund, more than pay off all their present national debt. It is besides a prevailing opinion in England, that they must in the nature of things, sooner or later lose the colonies, and many think they had better be without the government of them; so that the proposition will, on that account, have more supporters and fewer opposers.

3, As the having such propositions to make, or any powers to treat of peace, will furnish a pretence for Benjamin Franklin's going to England, where he has many friends and acquaintance, particularly among the best writers and ablest speakers in both houses of parliament, he thinks he shall be able when there, if the terms are not accepted, to work up such a division of sentiments in the nation, as greatly to weaken its exertions against the United States, and lessen its credit in foreign countries.

4, The knowlege of there being powers given to the commissioners to treat with England, may have some effect in facilitating and expediting the proposed treaty with France.

5, It is worth our while to offer such a sum for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term, it will be to the whole United States, a mere trifle.

It is uncertain to what extent this plan was adopted by congress. The propositions were certainly not such as the British ministry would have listened to a moment, at that

period of the revolutionary war, whatever they might have been disposed to have done in a more advanced state of it.

It is possible, however, that this or some other proposal for peace with Great Britain may have been furnished to Dr. Franklin by the secret committee of congress, to serve him in some measure as a protection in case of his capture at sea; of which there was at that time the most imminent danger.

Dr. Franklin set off on this important mission from Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1776, accompanied by two of his grandchildren, William Temple Franklin, and Benjamin Franklin Bache: they slept at Chester that night, and the next morning went by land to Marcus Hook, and embarked there that day, in the United States' sloop of war *Reprisal*, mounting sixteen guns, and commanded by captain Wickes. During the passage Dr. Franklin made daily experiments, by means of the thermometer, of the temperature of the sea-water, as he had done on similar occasions, and with the same view of ascertaining the ship's being *in* or *out* of the gulph stream, and more or less within soundings.

The sloop was frequently chased during the voyage by British cruisers, and several times prepared for action; but being a good sailer, and the captain having received orders, not unnecessarily to risk an engagement, she as often escaped her pursuers. The crew did not always seem to like avoiding coming up with the vessels that were occasionally seen, as they were naturally desirous of getting some prize-money, on this account probably the captain indulged them on some occasions, when there was little likelihood of danger. An opportunity of this kind presented itself on the 27th of November, being then near the coast of France, though out of soundings. Several sail were seen about noon, and the sloop brought to, and took a brig from Bourdeaux, bound to Cork, (being Irish property) loaded with lumber and some wine. She had left Bourdeaux the day before. The captain found by the brig's reckoning, that he was then only sixteen leagues from land. In the afternoon of the same day he came up with, and

took another brig, from Rochefort, belonging to Hull, bound to Hamburgh, with brandy and flax-seed: early the next morning land was in sight from the mast-head; it proved to be Belleisle; a pilot came on board, and the sloop was brought to an anchor in the evening. On the 29th she ran into Quiberon Bay, where she continued till December 3d, when finding the contrary winds likely to continue, which prevented her entering the Loire, the captain procured a fishing-boat to put Dr. Franklin and his grandsons on shore at *Auray*, about six leagues distant, where they were landed in the evening. *Auray* proved to be a wretched place. No post-chaises to be hired, and obliged to send to *Vannes* for one, which did not arrive till next day; when the party reached that town, late in the evening. Dr. Franklin, in the little journal he kept, and from which the above details are taken, adds: "The carriage was a miserable one, with tired horses, the evening dark, scarce a traveller but ourselves on the road; and to make it more comfortable, the driver stopped near a wood we were to pass through, to tell us that a gang of eighteen robbers infested that wood, who but two weeks ago had robbed and murdered some travellers on that very spot."

The same journal contains the following remark, "December 6. On the road yesterday," (travelling to Nantes), "we met six or seven country-women, in company, on horseback and astride: they were all of fair white and red complexions, but one among them was the fairest woman I ever beheld. Most of the men have good complexions, not swarthy like those of the North of France, in which I remember that, except about *Abbeville*, I saw few fair people."

Arriving at Nantes on the 7th December, a grand dinner was prepared on the occasion by some friends of America, at which Dr. Franklin was present, and in the afternoon went to meet a large party at the country seat of monsieur Gruel, a short distance from town, where crowds of visitors came to compliment him on his safe arrival, expressing great satisfaction, as they were warm friends to America, and hoped his being in France would be of advantage to the

American cause, &c. &c. A magnificent supper closed the evening.

Being much fatigued and weakened by the voyage and journey, Dr. Franklin was persuaded to remain some time at M. Gruel's country house, where he was elegantly and commodiously lodged: his strength, indeed, was not equal to an immediate journey to Paris. During his stay at M. Gruel's he was in hopes of living retired, but the house was almost always full of visiters; from whom, however, much useful information was obtained respecting the state of affairs at court, and the character of persons in power, &c. Dr. Franklin also learnt with great satisfaction, that a supply had been obtained from the French government, of two hundred brass field-pieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores; which were then shipping for America, and would be convoyed by a ship of war.

Dr. Franklin at that time did not assume any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court was ready and willing to receive *publicly* commissioners from the congress; and that he might neither embarrass the ministry on the one hand, nor subject himself and his colleagues to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other, he dispatched an express to Mr. Deane, then in Paris, with the letters he had for him from the committee of congress, and a copy of their joint commission, that he might make the proper inquiries, and give him the necessary information: meantime it was generally supposed at Nantes that Dr. Franklin was sent to negotiate, and that opinion appeared to give great pleasure.

On the 15th December, Dr. Franklin left Nantes, and shortly after arrived safely at Paris, where he continued to reside till the 7th January following, when he removed with his family to Passy, (a village beautifully situated about a league from the capital,) and took up his abode in a large and handsome house, with extensive gardens, belonging to Mons. Le Ray de Chaumont, a great and useful friend to the American cause: here Dr. Franklin continued during the whole

of his residence in France—being about eight years and a half.

The following extracts from letters written by him to one of his intimate friends, shortly after his arrival in Paris, fully show his sentiments relative to the state of American politics at that period, and furnish some insight as to the nature of his mission to France.

To Dr. Ingenhauz.

— “ I long labored in England with great zeal and sincerity to prevent the breach that has happened, and which is now so wide, that no endeavors of mine can possibly heal it. You know the treatment I met with from that imprudent court: but I keep a separate account of private injuries, which I may forgive; and I do not think it right to mix them with public affairs. Indeed there is no occasion for their aid to whet my resentment against a nation, that has burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, has excited the savages to assassinate our innocent farmers with their wives and children, and our slaves to murder their masters! It would therefore be deceiving you, if I suffered you to remain in the supposition you have taken up, that I am come to Europe to make peace: I am in fact ordered hither by the congress for a very different purpose; viz. to procure such aids from European powers, for enabling us to defend our freedom and independence, which it is certainly their interest to grant; as by that means the great and rapidly growing trade of America will be open to them all, and not a monopoly to Great Britain as heretofore: a monopoly, that if she is suffered again to possess, will be such an increase of her strength by sea, and if she can reduce us again to submission, she will have thereby so great an addition to her strength by land, as will, together, make her the most formidable power the world has yet seen; and from her natural pride and insolence in prosperity, of all others the most intolerable.”

To the same.

— “YOU desire to know my opinion of what will probably be the end of this war; and whether our new establishments will not be thereby reduced again to deserts. I do not, for my part, apprehend much danger of so great an evil to us. I think we shall be able, with a little help, to defend ourselves, our possessions, and our liberties so long, that England will be ruined by persisting in the wicked attempt to destroy them. I must nevertheless regret that ruin, and wish that her injustice and tyranny had not deserved it: and I sometimes flatter myself that, old as I am, I may possibly live to see my country settled in peace and prosperity, when Britain shall make no more a formidable figure among the powers of Europe.

“You put me in mind of an apology for my conduct, which has been expected from me, in answer to the abuses thrown upon me before the privy council. It was partly written, but the affairs of public importance I have been ever since engaged in, prevented my finishing it. The injuries too that my country has suffered, have absorbed private resentments, and made it appear trifling for an individual to trouble the world with his particular justification, when all his compatriots were stigmatized by the king and parliament as being in every respect *the worst of mankind*! I am obliged to you, however, for the friendly part you have always taken in the defence of my character; and it is indeed no small argument in my favor, that those who have known me most and longest, still love me and trust me with their most important interests, of which my election into the congress by the unanimous voice of the assembly, or parliament of Pennsylvania, the day after my arrival from England, and my present mission hither by the congress itself, are instances incontestable.”

Dr. Franklin was privately received with every demonstration of regard and respect by the minister for foreign affairs,

monsieur le compte de Vergennes; who assured him and the other American commissioners, that they should personally enjoy in France “all the security and all the good offices which strangers could receive.”²

A conviction of the advantages to be derived from a commercial intercourse with America, and a desire of weakening the British empire, by dismembering it, induced the French court secretly to give assistance in military stores to the Americans, and to listen to proposals of an alliance. But they at first shewed rather a reluctance to the latter measure, which, however, by Dr. Franklin’s address, aided by a subsequent important success attending the American arms, was eventually overcome.

The American commissioners began privately to grant letters of marque to a number of *French American privateers*, which harrassed the English coasting trade, intercepted a great number of British merchant vessels, and took many prisoners. Lord Stormont, his Britannic majesty’s ambassador at Versailles, when applied to by the American commissioners relative to an exchange of those prisoners, haughtily and unfeelingly gave them for answer, “that he received no letters from rebels, unless they were to petition his majesty’s pardon!!” or words to that effect. His lordship presented several memorials to the French minister, complaining of the equipment of American vessels in the ports of France, bringing in of their prizes, &c. and of the assistance France was underhandedly affording the insurgents; demanding at the same time a categorical answer respecting such conduct.

On this occasion count de Vergennes affected to remonstrate with the American commissioners, and on the 16th July, 1777, wrote to them that they had exceeded the bounds limited at their first interview with him, which were expressly, “That the navigation and commerce with the Americans, should obtain all the facilities in France which were compati-

² “Toute la sureté et tous les agréments que nous y faisons éprouver aux étrangers.”

ble with the due observance of her treaties with England; that to these principles the king would religiously adhere."^a

This remonstrance might also in some measure have been influenced by the very unfavorable accounts latterly received from America, and which bore a most unpromising aspect for the success of the American cause. In England it was generally thought, even by the friends of America, that her struggle for independence was at an end, and that nothing was left for her but unconditional submission. Doctor Fothergill, a particular friend of Dr. Franklin, and a well-wisher to America, in a letter to his nephew, Mr. John Chorley, dated June, 1777, written with the view to its being communicated to Dr. Franklin, (which it shortly after was,) thus expresses himself:

“Should thy friend think proper to go to Passy, he may say to Dr. Franklin, that if he has enemies in this country, he has also friends; and must not forget these, because the former are ignorant and malicious, yet all-powerful. He will doubtless inform the doctor, that there remains not a doubt on this side the water, that American resistance is all at an end—that the shadow of congressional authority scarce exists—that a general defection from that body is apparent—that their troops desert by shoals—that the officers are discontented—that no new levies can be made—that nothing can withstand the British forces, and prevent them from being masters of the whole continent; in short, that the war is *at an end*, and that nothing remains to be done, but to divide the country among the conquerors. This is the general language; and that neither France nor Spain will afford them any other than a kind of paralytic aid; enough to enable them to protract a few months longer a miserable existence!”

^a “Que le navigation et commerce Américains éprouveroient toutes les facilités en France, qui seroient compatibles avec l'exacte observance de ses traités avec l'Angleterre; qu'il étoit dans les principes du roi de remplir religieusement.”

In the midst of this supposed gloomy state of affairs in America, the news of the surrender of the British army, commanded by general Burgoyne, to that of the Americans under general Gates, at Saratoga, on the 17th October, 1777, arrived in France; and at the very moment when the French cabinet was as yet undecided in regard to the steps to be adopted relative to the United States. This memorable event immediately turned the scale, and fixed the French nation in their attachment to the infant republic.

The news of the defeat and capture of this British general and his whole army, was received in France with as great demonstrations of joy, as if it had been a victory gained by their own arms. Dr. Franklin took advantage of this circumstance, and suggested to the French ministry, "that there was not a moment to be lost, if they wished to secure the friendship of America, and detach her entirely from the mother-country." Urged by these considerations, and fearful lest an accommodation might take place between Great Britain and her colonies, the court of France instantly determined to declare its intentions, and accordingly on the 6th December, 1777, monsieur Gerard, secretary to the council of state, repaired to the hotel of the American commissioners, and informed them, by order of the king, "that after a long and mature deliberation upon their propositions, his majesty had determined to recognize the independence of, and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with, the United States of America; and that he would not only acknowledge their independence, but actually support it with all the means in his power: that perhaps he was about to engage himself in an expensive war upon their account, but that he did not expect to be reimbursed by them: in fine, the Americans were not to think that he had entered into this resolution solely with a view of serving them, since independently of his real attachment to them and their cause, it was evidently the interest of France to diminish the power of England, by severing her colonies from her."

In consequence of this amicable and frank declaration treaties were soon after entered upon with monsieur Gerard, who, on the 30th of January, 1778, had received two distinct commissions from the king for that purpose: and on the 6th day of February following, a treaty of amity and commerce, and another of alliance eventual and defensive, between his most Christian majesty and the thirteen United States of North America, were concluded and signed at Paris by the respective plenipotentiaries.

This forms a memorable epoch in the political life of Dr. Franklin, as well as in the annals of the United States, because it was in a great measure owing to the aid derived from this powerful alliance, that the American colonies were enabled to resist the mother country, and eventually to establish their independence.

It was mutually agreed that these treaties should be kept secret till the ratifications were exchanged; but some time after, accounts having been received of the intention of the English ministry to send lord Carlisle, Mr. W. Eden, and governor Johnstone as additional commissioners to America, to be joined to the commanders-in-chief of the British land and sea forces there, with full powers to treat, settle, and agree on terms, even with congress, but subject to the confirmation of parliament; the French government, with the view to counteract any favorable result to Great Britain from this project, immediately instructed their ambassador at St. James's (the marquis de Noailles) to communicate officially to the English government, that the abovementioned treaties had been concluded and signed. On this the British cabinet instantly dispatched instructions to lord Stormont, to withdraw from the court of France, without taking leave; and this having been intimated to the marquis de Noailles, he left England about the same time.

These circumstances, however, did not prevent the new British commissioners from proceeding to America; but their presence there was of no avail, notwithstanding every art and deception was made use of by them to effect their pur-

pose. Governor Johnstone, in particular had publicly asserted, that Dr. Franklin, had *approved of the propositions the commissioners had carried over with them.* This was an absolute falsehood, of which Dr. Franklin, as soon as apprized of it, expressed his indignation to the president of the state of Pennsylvania, in his letter dated Passy, March 19, 1780.²

Hostilities now commenced between Great Britain and France; and monsieur Gerard was sent by his most Christian majesty as envoy to the new States of America. The American commissioners plenipotentiary were immediately presented at court in their public character, with the accustomed forms, and were very graciously received by the king and all the royal family.

A French historian, M. Hilliard D'Auberteuil, thus notices Dr. Franklin's first appearance at the court of Versailles.

“ Dr. Franklin, at length, had an interview with his most Christian majesty; he was presented to him, in the gallery of Versailles, by the comte de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs. On this occasion, he was accompanied and followed by a great number of Americans, and individuals of foreign states, who were collected together by curiosity. His age, his venerable appearance, the simplicity of his dress on such an occasion, every thing that was either singular or respectable in the life of this American, contributed to augment the public attention. Clapping of hands, and a variety of other demonstrations of joy, announced that warmth of affection, of which the French are more susceptible than any other people, and of which their politeness and civility augments the charm to him who is the object of it.

“ His majesty addressed him as follows:

“ ‘ You may assure the United States of America of my friendship; I beg leave also to observe, that I am exceedingly satisfied in particular with your own conduct, during your

² See Vol. VI. page 385, of this edition.

residence in my kingdom.' When the new ambassador, after this audience, crossed the court, in order to repair to the office of the minister of foreign affairs, the multitude waited for him in the passage, and hailed him with their acclamations."

Dr Franklin was undoubtedly the fittest person that could have been found for rendering essential services to the United States at the court of France. He was well known as a philosopher throughout all Europe, and his character was held in the highest estimation. In France he was received with the greatest marks of respect by all the literary characters; and this was extended amongst all classes of men, and particularly at the court. His personal influence was hence very considerable. To the effects of this were added those of various writings which he published, tending to establish the credit and character of the United States; and to his exertions in this way, may in no small degree be ascribed, not only the free gifts obtained from the French government, but also the loans negotiated in Holland, which greatly contributed to bring the war to a favorable conclusion, and the establishment of American independence.

During the progress of these transactions at the court of France, Dr. Franklin had received from congress their commission to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the court of Spain. On this occasion he waited on the count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and left with him a copy of his commission; and some time after addressed to him the following letter.

To his Excellency the Count d'Aranda, &c. &c.

SIR,

Passy, April 7, 1777.

I LEFT in your excellency's hands, to be communicated, if you please, to your court, a duplicate of the commission from the congress, appointing me to go to Spain as their minister plenipotentiary. But as I understand, that the receiving such a minister is not at present thought convenient, and I am sure the congress would have nothing done that might

incommode in the least a court they so much respect, I shall therefore postpone that journey till circumstances may make it more suitable. In the mean time, I beg leave to lay before his Catholic majesty, through the hands of your excellency, the propositions contained in a resolution of congress, dated Dec. 30, 1776, viz.:

“That if his Catholic majesty will join with the United States in a war against Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain the town and harbor of Pensacola; provided the inhabitants of the United States shall have the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbor of Pensacola; and will, (provided it shall be true that his Portuguese majesty has insultingly expelled the vessels of these states from his ports, or has confiscated any such vessels), declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by, the courts of France and Spain.”

It is understood that the strictest union subsists between those two courts; and in case Spain and France should think fit to attempt the conquest of the English sugar islands, the congress have further proposed to furnish provisions to the amount of two millions of dollars, and to join the fleet employed on the occasion, with six frigates of not less than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for service; and to render any other assistance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies; without desiring for themselves the possession of any of the said islands.

These propositions are subject to discussion, and to receive such modification as may be found proper.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

This negotiation was not carried further at the time, and subsequently Mr. Jay was sent by congress as their special minister to the court of Spain; were his patience and ability were equally displayed to his own credit, and the interest of his country, which he ever had at heart.

We must now revert to some less important circumstances that occurred about this time, and which have been omitted in the precise order of their dates, in order not to interrupt the account of transactions of greater moment.

An incident, though trifling of itself, yet as relating to a *great personage*, and as connected with Dr. Franklin's memoirs, ought not to be omitted.

At the time of the visit to Paris of the emperor Joseph II., brother to the queen of France, (then travelling under the title of *count de Falkenstein*), Dr. Franklin received the following note from the envoy of the grand duke of Tuscany, resident at Paris.

A Monsieur le Docteur Franklin.^c

L'ABBE NICCOLI prie monsieur Franklin de lui faire l'honneur de venir déjeuner chez lui Mercredi matin, 28 de ce mois, à 9 heures. Il lui donnera une bonne tasse de chocolat. Il l'assure de son respect.

Du petit Luxembourg, Lundi, 26 Mai, 1777.

To this note, found among Dr. Franklin's papers, is added the following memorandum in his hand-writing.

"The above is from the abbé Niccoli, minister of the grand duke of Tuscany. The intention of it was, to give the emperor an opportunity of an interview with me, that should appear accidental. Monsieur Turgot and the abbé were there to be present, and by their knowledge of what passed, to prevent or contradict false reports. The emperor did not appear, and the abbé Niccoli since tells me, that the number of other

^c (TRANSLATION.)

To Dr. Franklin.

THE abbé Niccoli begs Dr. Franklin will do him the honor to come and take breakfast with him on Wednesday morning, 28th of this month, at nine o'clock. He will give him a fine cup of chocolate. He assures him of his respect.

Little Luxembourg, Monday, 26th May, 1777.

persons who occasionally visited him that morning, of which the emperor was informed, prevented his coming; that at twelve, understanding they were gone, he came; but I was gone also."

The cause of America becoming so popular in France, and the number of officers out of employ being so considerable, Dr. Franklin was extremely harrassed by the numerous applications for service in the armies of the United States. The following letter to a friend is so fully and strongly descriptive of his sentiments and feelings on this subject, and in other respects so entertaining, that we here insert it.

To * * *.

Passy, —.

YOU know, my dear friend, that I am not capable of refusing you any thing in my power, which would be a real kindness to you or any friend of yours; but when I am certain that what you request would be directly the contrary, I ought to refuse it. I know that officers going to America for employment will probably be disappointed; that our armies are full, that there are a number of expectants unemployed and starving for want of subsistence, that my recommendation will not make vacancies, nor can it fill them, to the prejudice of those who have a better claim; that some of those officers I have been prevailed on to recommend, have by their conduct given no favorable impression of my judgment in military merit; and then the voyage, is long, the passage very expensive, and the hazard of being taken and imprisoned by the English, very considerable. If, after all, no place can be found affording a livelihood for the gentleman, he will perhaps be distressed in a strange country, and ready to blaspheme his friends who by their solicitations procured for him so unhappy a situation. Permit me to mention to you, that in my opinion the natural complaisance of this country often carries people too far in the article of *recommendations*. You give them with too much facility to persons of whose real characters you know nothing, and sometimes at the request

of others of whom you know as little. Frequently, if a man has no useful talents, is good for nothing, and burthensome to his relations, or is indiscreet, profligate, and extravagant, they are glad to get rid of him by sending him to the other end of the world; and for that purpose scruple not to recommend him to those they wish should recommend him to others, as "*un bon sujet—plein de mérite,*" &c. &c. In consequence of my crediting such recommendations, my own are out of credit, and I cannot advise any body to have the least dependence on them. If, after knowing this, you persist in desiring my recommendation for this person, who is known neither to *me* nor to *you*, I will give it,^d though, as I said before, I ought to refuse it.

These applications are my perpetual torment. People will believe (notwithstanding my repeated declarations to the contrary), that I am sent hither to engage officers.—In truth I never had any such orders. It was never so much as intimated to me that it would be agreeable to my constituents. I have even received for what I have done of the kind, not in-

^d For cases of this kind, and where it was absolutely *impossible* to refuse, Dr. Franklin drew up the following as a model for such letters of recommendation, and actually employed it in some instances, to shame the persons making such indiscreet applications; and to endeavor in some measure to put a stop to them.

Model of a Letter of Recommendation of a person you are unacquainted with.

SIR,

Paris, April 2, 1777.

THE bearer of this, who is going to America, presses me to give him a letter of recommendation, though I know nothing of him, not even his name. This may seem extraordinary, but I assure you it is not uncommon here. Sometimes, indeed, one unknown person brings another equally unknown to recommend him; and sometimes they recommend one another! As to this gentleman, I must refer you to himself for his character and merits, with which he is certainly better acquainted than I can possibly be; I recommend him however to those civilities which every stranger, of whom one knows no harm, has a right to, and I request you will do him all the good offices and show him all the favor that, on further acquaintance, you shall find him to deserve.

I have the honor to be, &c.

deed an absolute rebuke, but some pretty strong hints of disapprobation. Not a day passes in which I have not a number of soliciting visits, besides letters. If I could gratify all or any of them it would be a pleasure. I might indeed give them the recommendation, and the promises they desire, and thereby please them for the present; but when the certain disappointment of the expectations with which they will so obstinately flatter themselves shall arrive, they must curse me for complying with their mad requests, and not undeceiving them; and will become so many enemies to our cause and country. You can have no conception how I am harrassed. All my friends are sought out and teased to tease me. Great officers of all ranks in all departments, ladies great and small, besides professed solicitors, worry me from morning to night. The noise of every coach now that enters my court, terrifies me. I am afraid to accept an invitation to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer or officer's friend, who as soon as I am put in good humor by a glass or two of champaigne, begins his attack upon me. Luckily I do not often in my sleep dream of these vexatious situations, or I should be afraid of what are now my only hours of comfort. If therefore you have the least remaining kindness for me, if you would not help to drive me out of France, for God's sake, my dear friend, let this your twenty-third application be your last. Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

The following letter, on the same subject, was addressed by Dr. Franklin to an impertinent and unknown applicant; and contains some wholesome advice in a tart and pithy style.

SIR,

Passy, near Paris, April 6, 1777.

I HAVE just been honored with a letter from you, dated the 26th past, in which you express yourself as astonished, and appear to be angry that you have no answer to a letter you wrote me of the 11th of December, which you are sure was delivered to me.

In exculpation of myself, I assure you that I never received any letter from you of this date. And indeed, being then

but four days landed at Nantes, I think you could scarce have heard so soon of my being in Europe.

But I received one from you of the 8th of January, which I own I did not answer. It may displease you if I give you the reason; but as it may be of use to you in your future correspondences, I will hazard that for a gentleman to whom I feel myself obliged, as an American, on account of his good will to our cause.

Whoever writes to a stranger should observe three points; 1, That what he proposes be practicable. 2, His propositions should be made in explicit terms, so as to be easily understood. 3, What he desires should be in itself reasonable. Hereby he will give a favorable impression of his understanding, and create a desire of further acquaintance. Now it happened that you were negligent in *all* these points: for first, you desired to have means procured for you of taking a voyage to America "*avec sûreté*;" which is not possible, as the dangers of the sea subsist always, and at present there is the additional danger of being taken by the English. Then you desire that this may be "*sans trop grandes dépenses*," which is not intelligible enough to be answered, because, not knowing your ability of bearing expenses, one cannot judge what may be *trop grandes*. Lastly, you desire letters of address to the congress and to general Washington; which it is not reasonable to ask of one who knows no more of you than that your name is LITH, and that you live at BAY-REUTH.

In your last, you also express yourself in vague terms when you desire to be informed whether you may expect "*d'être reçu d'une manière convenable*" in our troops? As it is impossible to know what your ideas are of the *manière convenable*, how can one answer this? And then you demand, whether I will support you by my authority in giving you letters of recommendation? I doubt not your being a man of merit; and knowing it yourself, you may forget that it is not known to every body; but reflect a moment, sir, and you will be convinced, that if I were to practise giving letters of re-

commendation to persons of whose character I knew no more than I do of yours, my recommendations would soon be of no authority at all.

I thank you, however, for your kind desire of being serviceable to my countrymen; and I wish in return that I could be of service to you in the scheme you have formed of going to America. But numbers of experienced officers here have offered to go over and join our army, and I could give them no encouragement, because I have no orders for that purpose, and I know it is extremely difficult to place them when they come there. I cannot but think, therefore, that it is best for you not to make so long, so expensive, and so hazardous a voyage, but to take the advice of your friends, and *stay in Franconia*.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Before we return to political occurrences, as connected with the memoirs of Dr. Franklin, we have to notice an attempt that was made in 1777, by a *soi-disant* English philosopher, to detract, if not to annul, the great discovery of the American philosopher, for the protection of buildings and ships from the effects of lightning. Mr. B. Wilson, F.R.S. who had formerly, at a meeting of the Royal Society, protested unsuccessfully against the *pointed* conductors of Franklin, now endeavored by certain experiments publicly exhibited at the Pantheon, to prove the superior advantage of *knobs* to *points*, or the greater safety to be derived from blunt to sharp lightning conductors. These experiments, it is said, were much countenanced by the king, who attended them, with some of the royal family; but their deception was soon detected, as appears by the following article on the subject, in the London Evening Post of the 16th Sept. 1777.

“Monday, Mr. B. Wilson repeated his experiments at the Pantheon, before several fellows of the Royal Society, and other persons. Lord Viscount Mahon,^e F. R. S., being present, had a great dispute with Mr. Wilson concerning his ex-

^e Afterwards earl Stanhope, since deceased.

periments, and showed him that he was wrong in both his assertions; 1st, that *knobs* are better than *points*, and 2dly, that *low conductors* are better than *high ones*. His lordship proved both those assertions to be *false*, and showed also that Mr. Wilson had entirely *misunderstood*, and had consequently *misrepresented* the philosophical opinions of Dr. Franklin. Lord Mahon repeated several experiments of his own to prove his assertions, and by invariably succeeding in them, at the same time that those of Mr. Wilson failed repeatedly, his lordship proved this to demonstration, and by so doing gave great satisfaction to the best informed persons present. Mr. Wilson went to the other end of the room, as if to avoid seeing lord Mahon's experiments. He afterwards said that he had *not changed his opinions*, and would publish his own hypothesis; upon which lord Mahon told Mr. Wilson, in a most candid and gentleman-like manner, that he was very sorry to be obliged to differ in opinion from him, but that as the *question about conductors for lightning* was of so great importance to this country, and to society in general, that if Mr. Wilson should *publish* an erroneous opinion upon this subject, that he would also pledge himself to the public to *refute him in print*."

A few days after, Mr. Wilson's pretended improvement, founded on deceptive experiments, was completely destroyed by the discovery and exposure of the tricks he had employed to obtain a partial success. This took place on the 2d October, when several members of the Royal Society, and other gentlemen conversant in electricity, went to see him repeat his experiments; among these were Mr. Henly and Mr. Nairne, both fellows of the Royal Society, who fully detected and exposed the frauds and deceptions employed by Wilson, for establishing his own philosophical reputation, on the ruins of that of Dr. Franklin.

Another member of the Royal Society (and of most of the learned societies of Europe) the ingenious Dr. Ingenhausz, who had assisted at these experiments, and in the detection of the fraud, afterwards wrote a very vehement letter on the sub-

ject, addressed to a friend on the continent ; giving a full account of what he calls “*la charlatanerie du fourbe Wilson décelée*.” The letter is too long and violent for insertion here ; it concludes thus.

— “Voilà donc toute la tracasserie de Wilson exposée à la connoissance du public ; montrez ceci à notre ami, [Dr. Franklin] et tâchez de le rendre public pour le bien général. Mais ce qu’il y a de plus drôle, c’est qu’on m’a assuré que les conducteurs du palais de la reine à Buckingham house, ont été abattus, depuis que le roi a vu les expériences de Wilson !^f A présent que la charlatanerie et la mauvaise foi de ce coquin se trouve décelée, et reconnue, on voudra pallier cette absurdité ; et quoique Wilson devrait être puni pour avoir trompé et imposé au roi, peut être tâchera-t-on de le soutenir, comme un vrai Don Quixote, qui a attaqué le philosophe Américain, de même que les héros militaires qui attaquent son pays ; (et qui probablement n’auront pas plus de succès) et qu’il sera également récompensé par une nation dupée.”^g

This letter being communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion asked with respect to the propriety of publishing it in Paris, he thus replied.

^f This was a fact ; and they have never since been re-established, notwithstanding the condemnation of the pretended improvement by the Royal Society, in their Reports in favor of *pointed* conductors, and their being consequently generally employed for the protection of the powder magazines throughout the country.

^g Behold at last the dirty tricks of Wilson are made manifest to the world : shew this to our friend, (Dr. Franklin) and prevail upon him to make it more generally known for the public benefit. But what is more amusing than all is as I am assured, that one of the conductors at the queen’s palace at Buckingham house, has been stricken down by lightning, since the king has seen the experiments of Wilson ! Now that the quackery and deception of this rascal are exploded and notorious, they are seeking to escape the derision which they have merited, by saying that Wilson ought to be punished for having imposed upon and deceived the king, notwithstanding he was sustained like a genuine don Quixotte, in his attacks on the philosophical American ; as they uphold the military heroes who attack his country (and who will probably meet a similar fate) and who are likely to meet a similar recompense from a duped nation.

“SIR,

Passy, Oct. 4, 1777.

“I AM much obliged by your communication of the letter from England. I am of your opinion, that it is not proper for publication here. Our friend’s expressions concerning Mr. Wilson, will be thought too angry to be made use of by one philosopher when speaking of another, and on a philosophical question. He seems as much heated about this *one point*, as the Jansenists and Molinists were about the *five*. As to my writing any thing on the subject, which you seem to desire, I think it not necessary, especially as I have nothing to add to what I have already said upon it in a paper read to the committee,^b who ordered the conductors at Purfleet; which paper is printed in the last French edition of my writings. I have never entered into any controversy in defence of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are *right*, truth and experience will support them; if *wrong*, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one’s temper, and disturb one’s quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them. The king’s changing his *pointed* conductors for *blunt* ones, is therefore a matter of small importance to me. If I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of heaven, that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects.”ⁱ

^b Report on Lightning Conductors for the powder magazines at Purfleet, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, August 21, 1772.

ⁱ The foregoing circumstances, united with the then state of the British nation, gave rise to the following epigram, which possess more than a common share of *point*.

“While you, great GEORGE! for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The empire’s out of joint.

FRANKLIN a wiser course pursues;
And all your thunder fearless views,
By sticking to—the *point*.”

During the months of March, April, and July, 1778, various schemes were fallen upon by the English ministry, privately to sound Dr. Franklin on the subject of peace with America. The correspondents or agents employed by them on this occasion, were principally, Mr. Hutton, William Pulteney, and David Hartley, esquires; the two latter members of parliament. A full account of these attempts, and others that took place at subsequent periods of the war, with the view to induce America to abandon her alliance with France, or to treat for peace on terms short of her independence, or of the formal acknowledgement of it by Great Britain; together with all the letters, memorials, and diplomatic documents exhibited on the occasion, will be found in the **PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE**.

The alliance with France was considered in America, as a pledge of the safety and liberty of the country. The immediate fruit of it was the powerful aid sent thither by France, in the squadron of the count d'Estaing, consisting of eleven ships of the line, six frigates, and considerable land forces. *Previous to its departure, Dr. Franklin had furnished the French government with a plan for surprising the British fleet and army then in the Delaware; and count d'Estaing was directed to execute this important enterprise. A better choice of a commander could not have been made; he united uncommon ardor and intrepidity, great military knowledge, vigilance, and circumspection, a quick decision, and a perfect command of himself in the most trying moments.*

The enterprise would in all probability have proved successful, had it not been for an unexampled series of bad weather and contrary winds.

The count took his departure from Toulon the 13th April, 1778. In the Mediterranean he had to encounter with such contrary winds, that it was not in his power to pass the straits of Gibraltar till the 17th May. The calms and light winds that afterwards attended him on the ocean, prevented the arrival of his fleet at the mouth of the river Delaware before the 7th July. In consequence of these unforeseen ob-

stacles, the French admiral arrived too late, for the English army had evacuated Philadelphia after their defeat at Monmouth, and the fleet was then riding in perfect safety at Sandy Hook.

But fleets and armies were not the only support to the American cause, derived from the alliance with France, through the influence of Dr. Franklin; for military stores and large sums of money were placed at his disposal by the French government, in consequence of his representations and pressing solicitations. These timely succors were of infinite use, and greatly assisted America in sustaining her independence. By means of the pecuniary advances, which were chiefly gifts, Dr. Franklin was enabled for several years to honor bills drawn from America to a large amount, and to pay the interest of a loan the congress had effected, on the express stipulation of the interest being paid in cash, in Europe. He also paid the salaries of all the American ministers or agents employed in Europe, and gave considerable assistance to the American prisoners in England, and to those who escaped or were exchanged, to aid their return to the United States.

In June, 1778, Dr. Franklin's old friend, Mr. Hutton, secretary to the Moravian society, applied to him for a protection against American cruisers, for a vessel the society annually dispatched to their missionaries on the coast of Labrador: this Dr. Franklin, with his usual humanity, readily acquiesced in; and immediately forwarded to Mr. Hutton a pass,^k which he afterwards annually renewed during the war: the present was accompanied by the following note.

^k To all captains and commanders of vessels of war, privateers and letters of marque, belonging to the United States of America.

GENTLEMEN,—The religious society commonly called the Moravian Brethren, having established a mission on the coast of Labrador, for the conversion of the savages there to the Christian religion, which has already had very good effects in turning them from their antient practices of surprising, plundering, and murdering such white people, Americans and Europeans, as, for the purposes of trade or fishery, happened to come on

To Mr. Hutton, London.

MY dear old friend has here the paper he desired.—We have had a marble monument made at Paris for the brave general Montgomery, which is gone to America. If it should fall into the hands of any of your cruisers, I expect you will exert yourself to get it restored to us, because I know the generosity of your temper, which likes to do handsome things, as well as to make returns. You see we are unwilling to *rob the hospital*, we hope your people will be found as averse to *pillaging the dead*. Adieu. Yours, B. FRANKLIN.

Passy June 23, 1778.

With the same wonted philanthropy, and with a view to the advancement of science, natural history, and navigation, Dr. Franklin, shortly after, as minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, issued a protection for captain Cooke, his vessel and people, against all American cruisers.¹

Dr. Kippis, a distinguished literary character, who published a Biographical Dictionary, had asserted, in his Life of captain Cooke, upon what he deemed authority, that Dr. Franklin's orders, as above, were instantly reversed, and that

that coast; and persuading them to lead a life of honest industry, and to treat strangers with humanity and kindness: and it being necessary for the support of this useful mission, that a small vessel should go thither every year to furnish supplies and necessaries for the missionaries and their converts; which vessel for the present year is a of about seventy-five tons, called the, whereof is master captain

This is to request you, that if the said vessel should happen to fall into your hands, you would not suffer her to be plundered, or hindered in her voyage, but on the contrary afford her any assistance she may stand in need of. Wherein I am confident your conduct will be approved by the congress and your owners.

Given at Passy, near Paris, this day of

B. FRANKLIN.

Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the court of France.

(Seal)

P. S. The same request is respectfully made to the commanders of armed vessels belonging to France and Spain, friends of the said United States.

B. FRANKLIN.

¹ See Vol. V. of this edition, page 338.

it was directed by congress, to seize captain Cooke, if an opportunity of doing it occurred: but Dr. Kippis finding that the information he had published was false, addressed a letter to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, in September, 1795, and therein publicly acknowledged his mistake. Indeed the magnanimous proceeding of Dr. Franklin in writing the passport was so well known in England, and the sentiments it manifested so much approved by the British government itself, that, when Cooke's Voyage was printed, the admiralty board sent a copy of the work, in three volumes quarto, to Dr. Franklin, accompanied with the elegant collection of plates, and a very polite letter from lord Howe, signifying, that the present was made with the king's express approbation: and the Royal Society having, in honor of that illustrious navigator, one of their members, struck some gold medals, to be distributed among his friends and the friends of his voyage; one of these medals was also sent to Dr. Franklin, by order of the society, together with a letter from their president, sir Joseph Banks, expressing likewise, that it was sent with the approbation of the king.

Another opportunity occurred some time after, for Dr. Franklin to give an additional proof of his benevolence; of which he availed himself, in granting a similar protection to a vessel sent with provisions and clothing, as a charitable donation from the citizens of Dublin, to certain sufferers in the West Indies.

In short, Dr. Franklin through life, let no opportunity escape him, either in a public or private situation, in which, by any act of his, he could be useful to his fellow creatures, whether friends or enemies.

No one who did not witness it, can conceive how much his reputation as a philosopher, and his situation as American minister, subjected him to the applications of projectors, speculators, and adventurers of all descriptions. The following memorandums of only one day's annoyance of this nature, taken from a little journal he kept, may tend to give some idea of it.

“ Passy, Sunday, Dec. 13, 1778, A. M.

“ A man came to tell me he had invented a machine, which would go of itself, without the help of a spring, weight, air, water, or any of the elements, or the labor of man or beast; and with force sufficient to work four machines for cutting tobacco; that he had experienced it; would shew it me if I would come to his house, and would sell the secret of it for two hundred louis. I doubted it, but promised to go to him in order to see it.

“ A mons. Coder came with a proposition in writing, to levy 600 men, to be employed in landing on the coast of England and Scotland, to burn and ransom towns and villages, in order to put a stop to the English proceedings in that way in America. I thanked him, and told him I could not approve it, nor had I any money at command for such purposes; moreover that it would not be permitted by the government here.

“ A man came with a request that I would patronize and recommend to government, an invention he had, whereby a hussar might so conceal his arms and habiliments, with provision for twenty-four hours, as to appear a common traveller; by which means a considerable body might be admitted into a town, one at a time, unsuspected, and afterwards assembling, surprise it. I told him I was not a military man, of course no judge of such matters, and advised him to apply to the *Bureau de la guerre*. He said he had no friends, and so could procure no attention.—The number of wild schemes proposed to me is so great, and they have heretofore taken so much of my time, that I begin to reject all, though possibly some of them may be worth notice.

“ Received a parcel from an unknown philosopher,^m who submits to my consideration a memoir on the subject of *elementary fire*, containing experiments in a dark chamber. It seems to be well written, and is in English, with a little tincture of French idiom. I wish to see the experiments, without which I cannot well judge of it.”

About the commencement of the year 1781, Dr. Franklin, from his age, infirmities, and the confinement of business, began to be weary of his situation as minister at the court of France, and requested leave to retire; as will appear by the following extract from one of his public dispatches to the president of congress.

Passy, 12th March, 1781.

— “ I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself, a subject with which I have not often troubled the congress. I have passed my 75th year, and I find the long and severe fit of the gout, which I had the last winter, has shaken

^m Afterwards discovered to be *Marat*, of future notorious memory.

me exceedingly, and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired; perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your minister for this court. I am afraid, therefore, that your affairs may some time or other suffer by my deficiency. I find also that the business is too heavy for me, and too confining. The constant attendance at home, which is necessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange, (a matter foreign to my ministerial functions) to answer letters, and perform other parts of my employment, prevent my taking the air and exercise which my annual journies formerly used to afford me, and which contributed much to the preservation of my health. There are many other little personal attentions, which the infirmities of age render necessary to an old man's comfort, even perhaps in some degree to the continuance of his existence, and with which business often interferes. I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence, in some shape or other, during the long term of *fifty years*, an honor sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition; and I have now no other left, but the repose, which I hope the congress will grant me, by sending some person to supply my place. At the same time I beg they may be assured, that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the glorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces me to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons abovementioned. And as I cannot at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage (the last having been almost too much for me,) and would not again expose myself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, I purpose to remain here at least till the peace; perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life; and if any knowlege or experience I have acquired at this court may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me."^a

^a For the remainder of this letter, see Vol. V. p. 71, of this edition.

Notwithstanding that the reasons assigned in this letter for desiring a mitigation of labor and opportunities for exercise were all of them cogent and indubitable, yet they were not the true cause by which he was actuated to write it. The old congress was not exempt from the usual infirmities of all public bodies; the passions of envy, jealousy, ambition, and faction, very frequently most seriously agitated their counsels; many good and eminent men were sacrificed to those passions; but many also were preserved from the violence and animosity of rivals. The congress had however the success and the wisdom of keeping from the knowledge of the world, the dangerous and menacing agitations within themselves. The talents, the popularity, the large share which Dr. Franklin filled in the eye of the world, had excited the envy and the jealousy of men who considered themselves depressed by his fame; an intrigue, engendered by those passions in congress, had been directed to obtain his recal, in order to replace him by one of those who were alike jealous of his established reputation, and the accumulation of fame which was to be the fruit of his successful career in France; the attempt was made to snatch from his brow the civic wreath which genius had planted to remain imperishable; he saw at a glance with his usual comprehension of mind, the course which combined all the best results which could proceed out of the occurrence; he knew the importance of his influence at Paris, and determined that his country should not be deprived of his services till her independence was determined by a peace; he perceived that if intrigue should produce his recal, though it might not diminish his utility in some measure; yet that to tender his resignation would prevent that consequence, and that what was more probable, the person who sought to supplant him, would find himself but a secondary character at Paris, even possessing a commission: this letter produced more than the effect which he had expected; but those whom he disappointed have not forgiven him their disappointment even beyond the grave. The congress refused to comply with this request, which Dr. Franklin thus notices in a letter to a friend:

August 24, 1781.

— “The congress have done me the honor to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to the business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a *double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned* to me, that I should ask as a favor what they hoped to vex me by taking from me; and that I should nevertheless be continued. But these sort of considerations should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an honor, and I really esteem it to be greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interest of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it.”

In consequence of this decision of the congress, Dr. Franklin thought it his duty to continue in his situation, and did so for many years after, to the great advantage of his country.

A friend of Dr. Franklin's having written to him to urge his continuance as minister, and making him some flattering compliments on the occasion, the doctor thus replied:

— “Your comparison of the *key-stone of an arch* is very pretty, tending to make me content with my situation. But I suppose you have heard our story of the *harrow*: if not, here it is. A farmer in our country sent two of his servants to borrow one of a neighbor, ordering them to bring it between them on their shoulders. When they came to look at it, one of them who had much wit, said, What could our master mean by sending only two men to bring this harrow? no two men upon earth are strong enough to carry it. Poh! said the other, who was vain of his strength, what do you talk of two men, one man may carry it; help it upon my shoulders and you shall see. As he proceeded with it, the wag kept exclaiming, Zounds! how strong you are! I could not have thought it! Why, you are a Samson! There is not such another man in America. What amazing strength God has given you! But

you will kill yourself! Pray put it down and rest a little, or let me bear a part of the weight. No, no, said he, being more encouraged by the compliments, than oppressed by the burden; you shall see I can carry it quite home. And so he did. In this particular, I am afraid my part of the imitation will fall short of the original."

A considerable sensation was occasioned about this time, both in America and Europe, by the treachery of the American general, ARNOLD. As accounts then and since have greatly differed with respect to some of the causes and circumstances relative to it, the following extracts from letters, written (shortly after the occurrence,) to Dr. Franklin, from two of his correspondents in America, may, perhaps, elucidate that extraordinary event, which had nearly proved fatal to the best interests of America.

Newport, Rhode Island, dated Oct. 10, 1780.

"BY this ship you will receive an account of the treason and apostacy of one of our greatest generals, (who went over from us to the enemy 25th September last), and the happy detection of it before the treason was carried into execution. General Arnold has buried all his military glory, and sent his name down in history execrated with contempt and infamy. He will be despised not only by us in the United States, but by all the nations of Europe, and in all future ages. There is reason to believe, that he meditated with the reduction of West Point on the 27th September, the betraying, at the same time, of general Washington and the minister of France, into the hands of the enemy; for his excellency the chevalier de la Luzerne told me, that passing through West Point on his way hither on the 24th, the day before the detection, general Arnold importuned him even to indecency to tarry and rest there four or five days. And Arnold also knew that general Washington would meet there about the same time, on his return from an interview with the French officers at Hartford. General Arnold is a loss. But America is so fertile in patriots, that we can afford to lose a distinguished patriot or two every year without any essential injury to the glorious cause of *liberty* and *independence*. The greatest injury he can do us will be in information. However, the present state of the American army is now so good, as that the most thorough knowledge of it will rather do us benefit than an injury. The seasonable execution of major André (the seducer) adjutant-general of the British army, on the 2d instant, will probably deter such adventurers for the future.

"Congress, and the assemblies through the states, continue firm and unshaken; and they have a cordial support in the union of the main body

of the people at large, notwithstanding the efforts of *torics* and governmental connexions intermixt in all parts, whose Sysiphean labors only pull ruin upon themselves.

"The storm still blows heavy. But our ship will ride it through. With joy we look forward, and with undoubting assurance anticipate the sweets and the final triumph of American liberty."

Philadelphia, dated 12th Oct. 1780.

"THE late providential discovery of *Arnold's plot*, which appears to have been for a considerable time in agitation, has induced a belief that Rodney had something further in view than merely counteracting the design of the comte de Guichen.

"In a controversy and revolution such as this, where former friendships and intimacies subsisted between the contending parties, and where men of upright intentions took different sides, and men of all characters were engaged in the contest, it would not have been strange or uncommon if conspiracies had been formed; but to the honor of the American army, ARNOLD is the first, and it is believed the only American officer, who has, during this war, entered into a conspiracy to betray his country. You know the character of the man; he was brave but avaricious, fond of parade, and not very scrupulous about the means of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. He had married a young woman who had been distinguished by general Howe's *Meschianzi knights*, and her father was not remarkable for his attachment to the American cause. The expensive manner in which Arnold lived in Philadelphia, reduced his finances, and the accounts he exhibited against the public underwent a scrutiny at the board of treasury, not much to the advantage of his *honor* and *honesty*; which, joined to his disappointment in the case of the *Active*, and the result of the court martial instituted on the complaint of the council of Pennsylvania, soured his temper, and rendered him a fit object for Clinton's views. By letters found among his private papers, it appears that captain André, one of sir H. Clinton's aids, had commenced a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold in 1779, under pretence of supplying her with millinery; whether it was continued till it was ripened into the plot of betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy, I will not undertake to say; but that the scheme had been some time in agitation appears evidently from this, that while the enemy were making preparations for executing their purpose, and giving out that their design was against Virginia, the same reports were circulated in lord Cornwallis's camp in South Carolina, and measures were taken to make us believe he meant to second the expedition, by marching through North Carolina, and forming a junction with sir Henry on his arrival in Virginia. At this time Rodney arrived at New York, and it is conjectured the design was, as soon as they had gained possession of West Point, and cut off the communication between the western and southern states, to turn their whole force against the French fleet at Rhode Island. This it is true is but conjecture, but it must be confessed

the object was great, and had Rodney succeeded, he would have finished the year with as much *éclat* as he began it. The providential discovery of the plot blasted the schemes of our enemies.

"The annexed, a specimen of American poetry, well describes the popular feeling on the occasion."

ON GENERAL ARNOLD.

AT Freedom's call, see Arnold take the field,
 With honor blazon'd on his patriot shield;
 His gallant feats a dazzling lustre spread:
 And circling glories beam'd around his head.
 His well-earn'd praises were consign'd to fame;
 And fate decreed him an immortal name.
 But when, estrang'd from freedom's glorious cause,
 Neglecting honor, and its sacred laws,
 Impell'd by motives of the basest kind,
 Which mark the vicious, mean, degen'rate mind—
 To virtue lost, and callous to disgrace—
 The traitor hiding with the hero's face—
 His canker'd heart, to sordid views a slave,
 To Mammon yielding all that freedom gave,
 Enleagu'd with friends of that detested tribe—
 Whose god is gold, whose saviour is a bribe—
 Could basely join, his country to betray,
 And thus restore a ruthless tyrant's sway—
 On freedom's sons impose the galling yoke,
 And crush each foe to vice beneath the stroke;
 Not all his laurels, in the field obtain'd,
 Not that which Philip's son by conquest gain'd,
 Not all that once adorn'd great Cæsar's brow,
 Nor all that Washington may challenge now—
 Could save a wretch, whom crimes like these debase
 So far beneath the rank of human race:
 But stung with keen remorse, his guilty soul
 In vain shall seek repose from pole to pole;
 Perpetual anguish shall torment his breast,
 And hellish demons haunt his troubled rest;
 Not even death shall shield his hated name,
 For still the caitiff shall survive to fame,
 By fate's decree—who thus pronounc'd his lot:
 "Too bad to die, too base to be forgot—
 "Thy crimes succeeding ages shall proclaim,
 "And Judas be forgot in Arnold's name."

October, 1780.

The following letter from Dr. Franklin to the marquis de la Fayette, then serving in the American army, also makes mention of Arnold's treason, and hints at the *price or reward* he received from the British government for his treachery: this letter will also be found interesting in other respects.

To the Marquis de la Fayette.

DEAR SIR,

Passy, May 14, 1781.

YOU are a very good correspondent, which I do not deserve, as I am a bad one. The truth is, I have too much business upon my hands, a great deal of it foreign to my function as a minister, which interferes with my writing regularly to my friends. But I am nevertheless extremely sensible of your kindness in sending me such frequent and full intelligence of the state of affairs on your side the water, and in letting me see by your letters, that your health continues, as well as your zeal for our cause and country.

I hope that by this time the ship which has the honor of bearing your name, is safely arrived. She carries clothing for near twenty thousand men, with arms, ammunition, &c. which will supply some of your wants, and colonel Laurens will bring a considerable addition, if Providence favors his passage. You will receive from him the particulars, which makes my writing more fully by him unnecessary.

Your friends have heard of your being gone against the traitor *Arnold*, and are anxious to hear of your success, and that you have brought him to punishment. Inclosed is a copy of a letter from his agent in England,^o captured by one

^o Copy of a letter from Mr. Meyrick, army agent in London, to General Arnold.

"SIR,

Parliament street, 30th Jan 1781.

"I AM honored with your several letters, inclosing bills on Harley and Drummond to the amount of five thousand pounds, the receipt of which I have regularly by packet acknowledged. On the day they were paid I invested the amount in the fund you mentioned, and it was a very favorable time. I flatter myself it will meet your approbation, also the mode in which it was done.

"As it is possible some directions might come from you for disposing of the money in some other mode, I thought it might not be so advan-

of our cruisers, and by which the price or reward he received for his treachery may be guessed at. Judas sold only one

tageous to lock it up totally, as it might be a long while before I could receive a power of attorney from you to transfer, had I put it in your name; and meantime the dividend could not be received for your use. The mode I have adopted has been used in like cases, and can be instantly altered to any you direct, on your favoring me with a letter.

The account is as follows, viz.

Bought by Samuel and William Scholey, stock-brokers, for major-general Arnold, 7000*l*. stock, in new 4 per cents. a. 71½, as follows:

In name of major-general Benedict Arnold,	Paid.
100 <i>l</i> . stock a. 71½ new 4 per cent consols.	} 4,987 <i>l</i> 10 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i>
6,900 <i>l</i> . stock a. 71½ in name of J. Meyrick, esq.	
<u>7,000<i>l</i></u>	
Commission paid to brokers	8 15 0
Letter of attorney to receive dividends	1 6
	<u>4,996 6 6</u>

There then remains of the 5000*l*., three pounds, thirteen shillings and sixpence.

Thus, by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can sell out the 6900*l*. and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6900*l*. and joining it to your 100*l*. The reason of my purchasing the latter sum in your name was, that you might have an account open. Also, the power of attorney now inclosed will enable me to receive the dividends on the whole 7000*l*. stock, after I have made the transfer, should you choose I should do so. I hope I have made myself properly understood, and can assure you I have, to the best of my abilities, acted for you as myself. I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient, and most humble servant,

Major-General Arnold.

JAMES MEYRICK.

NB. In addition to this supposed purchase money of the general himself, the following pensions were afterwards granted to his family. By warrant dated July 20, 1783:

To Edward Shippen	} ARNOLD, 400 <i>l</i> .
James Robertson		
George, and		
Sophia Matilda		

By warrant dated 12th June, 1805.

To Sophia Matilda Arnold, 100*l*.

man, Arnold three millions. Judas got for his one man, thirty pieces of silver, Arnold not a halfpenny a head. A miserable bargain! especially when one considers the quantity of infamy he has acquired to himself, and entailed on his family.

The English are in a fair way of gaining still more enemies: they play a desperate game. Fortune may favor them as it sometimes does a drunken dicer; but by their tyranny in the East, they have at length roused the powers there against them; and I do not know that they have in the West a single friend. If they lose their India commerce, (which is one of their present great supports,) and one battle at sea, their credit is gone, and their power follows. Thus empires by pride, folly, and extravagance, ruin themselves like individuals. M. La Mothe Piquet has snatched from between their teeth, a good deal of their West India prey, having taken twenty-two sail of their homeward-bound prizes. One of our American privateers has taken two more, and brought them into Brest, and two were burnt; there were thirty-four in company, with two men of war of the line and two frigates, who saved themselves by flight, but we do not hear of their being yet got in.

I think it was a wise measure to send colonel Laurens here, who could speak knowingly of the state of the army. It has been attended with all the success that perhaps could reasonably be expected; though not with all that was wished. He has fully justified your character of him, and returns thoroughly possessed of my esteem; but that cannot and ought not to please him so much as a little more money would have done for his beloved army. This court continues firm and steady in its friendship, and does every thing it can for us. Can we not do a little more for ourselves? My successor (for I have desired the congress to send me one) will find it in the best disposition towards us, and I hope he will take care to cultivate that disposition. You, who know the leading people of both countries, can perhaps judge better than any member of congress of a person suitable for this station. I wish you may be in the way to give your advice, when the matter is

agitated in that assembly. I have been long tired of the trade of minister, and wished for a little repose before I went to sleep for good and all. I thought I might have held out till the peace; but as that seems at a greater distance than the end of my days, I grow impatient. I would not, however, quit the service of the public, if I did not sincerely think that it would be easy for the congress, with your counsel, to find a fitter man. God bless you, and crown all your labors with success.

With the highest regard and most sincere affection, I am,
dear sir, &c. &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Notwithstanding Dr. Franklin's various and important occupations, he occasionally amused himself in composing and printing, by means of a small set of types, and a press he had in his house, several of his light essays, *bagatelles*, or *jeux d'esprit*, written chiefly for the amusement of his intimate friends: among these were the annexed; printed on a half sheet of coarse paper, so as to imitate, as much as possible, a portion of a Boston newspaper.

The repeated accounts received from America of the horribly cruel manner in which the Indian allies of Great Britain prosecuted the war against the peaceable inhabitants of the United States; murdering defenceless farmers, with their wives and children, and carrying off their scalps, for the reward promised in proportion to the number, (said already to have amounted to *two thousand*), was the foundation of a project which he formed for awakening the feelings of humanity to a due sense of the barbarity which one of the cabinet ministers had avowed in the house of lords, as *employing the means which Providence placed in their hands*; the following letter shews the nature of the facts upon which he projected a series of *newspapers*, or of papers so printed as to imitate a paper at that time printed in Boston called the *Boston Independent Chronicle*.

To Mr. Hutton.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

Passy, 7th July, 1782.

A LETTER written by you to M. Bertin, *ministre d'etat*, containing an account of the abominable murders committed by some of the frontier people on the poor Moravian Indians, has given me infinite pain and vexation. The dispensations of Providence in this world puzzle my weak reason; I cannot comprehend why cruel men should have been permitted thus to destroy their fellow creatures. Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death. Why has a single man in England, who happens to love blood and to hate Americans, been permitted to gratify that bad temper, by hiring German murderers, and joining them with his own, to destroy, in a continued course of bloody years, near one hundred thousand human creatures, many of them possessed of useful talents, virtues, and abilities, to which he has no pretension! It is he who has furnished the savages with hatchets and scalping knives, and engages them to fall upon defenceless farmers, and murder them with their wives and children, paying for their scalps, of which an account kept in America, already amounts as I have heard to near *two thousand*. Perhaps the people of the frontiers, exasperated by the cruelties of the Indians, have been induced to kill all Indians that fall into their hands without distinction; so that even these horrid murders of our poor Moravians may be laid to his charge. And yet this man lives, enjoys all the good things this world can afford, and is surrounded by flatterers who keep even his conscience quiet by telling him he is the best of princes! I wonder at this, but I cannot therefore part with the comfortable belief of a divine Providence: and the more I see the impossibility from the extent and number of his crimes, of giving equivalent punishment to a wicked man in this life, the more I am convinced of a future state, in which all that here appears to be wrong shall be set right, all that is crooked made straight. In this faith let you and I, my friend,

comfort ourselves; it is the only comfort, in the present dark scene of things that is allowed us.

I shall not fail to write to the government of America, urging that effectual care may be taken to protect and save the remainder of those unhappy people. Since writing the above I have received a Philadelphia, paper containing some account of the same horrid transaction, a little different, and some circumstances alleged as excuses or palliations, but extremely weak and insufficient. I send it to you enveloped.

B. FRANKLIN.

The other article is a *jeu d'esprit* of a gayer turn, originating from a memorial of the British ambassador, sir Joseph Yorke, reclaiming the king's ships, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, prizes carried into Holland by the American squadron under commodore Jones; whom sir Joseph designated, "the pirate Paul Jones of Scotland; a rebel subject, and a criminal of the state."

The deception intended by this supposed "*Supplement*," (which was very accurately imitated with respect to printing, paper, the insertion of advertisements, &c.) was, that by transmitting it to England, it might actually be taken for what it purported to be, and the two prominent articles contained in it, consequently, copied into the English papers, as genuine intelligence from America.

The end proposed thereby, was to shame the British government. It is uncertain whether this artifice succeeded as well as a similar one of Dr. Franklin's, the "*Prussian Edict*," did, as related in his PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

A copy of this intended deception, as printed, is here given with the omission only of the advertisements and some of the names, titles, and epithets, in the latter article.

Dr. Franklin had a great opinion of the effects to be produced by suitable writings in the public prints, as will appear from the following letter to Dr. Price.

Passy, June 13, 1782.

* * * * *

—— “I congratulate you on the late revolution in your public affairs. Much good may arise from it, though possibly not all that good men, and even the new ministers themselves, may have wished or expected. The change, however, in the sentiments of the nation, in which I see evident effects of your writings, with those of our deceased friend Mr. Burgh, and others of our valuable club, should encourage you to proceed. The antient Roman and Greek orators could only speak to the number of citizens capable of being assembled within the reach of their voice; their writings had little effect, because the bulk of the people could not read. Now by the press we can speak to nations; and good books, and well-written pamphlets, have great and general influence. The facility with which the same truths may be repeatedly enforced by placing them in different lights, in *newspapers* which are every where read, gives a great chance of establishing them. And we now find, that it is not only right to strike while the iron is hot, but that it is very practicable to heat it by continual striking.

In the month of June, 1782, Mr. Jones, afterwards sir William Jones, so eminently distinguished for his virtues, genius, and learning, came to Paris, accompanied by the late Mr. Paradise, with the intention of proceeding thence to America. These gentlemen had been long connected by a most intimate friendship, and the object of this journey is stated by lord Teignmouth (in his life of the former) to have been “*professional*, to procure the restitution of a very large estate of a client and friend, which had been attached by an order of the States, who had threatened the confiscation of the property, unless the owner appeared in person to claim it.” His lordship adds, “This object is mentioned by Mr. Jones in his correspondence, and his own evidence will be conclusive against some *surmises* and *insinuations*, which,

were propagated respecting the motives of his intended journey. The irresolution of his friend, increased by indisposition, prevented the execution of the plan, and Mr. Jones, after having procured a passport from Franklin, the American minister at the court of France, returned to England through Normandy and Holland." Of sir William Jones's account of his motives for going to America, as given by him to his friends in *England*, the editor has no knowledge; but at *Passy*, where he and Mr. Paradise frequently partook of the hospitalities and conversation of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jones assigned no other motive for his intended voyage, than that of accompanying his friend, and gratifying his curiosity by seeing a country for whose rights he had been a decided advocate. Mr. Paradise had never been the client of Mr. Jones, notwithstanding their friendship, he having never been engaged in any law-suit in England, nor had he the smallest need of a lawyer in America, where nothing more was required than his presence, to avoid the penalty to which absent proprietors residing in a country at that time hostile, were made liable, unless they came to the United States within a limited time; a penalty which Mr. Paradise did in fact avoid, without any lawyer, and even without going to America, until nearly five years after the war had terminated. It could not, therefore, have been a professional object which actuated sir William Jones in this undertaking; and in fact, by some expressions which escaped from him in a conversation with Mr. Jay (one of the American plenipotentiaries), the latter strongly suspected, that the real purpose of this intended visit to the United States, was to endeavor to produce a disposition in persons of influence *there*, to accept a reconciliation with Great Britain, on terms more favorable, or less humiliating, than those of *absolute independency*; and this suspicion soon after received a strong confirmation in the mind of Mr. Jay, upon his accidentally noticing in a printed account of the then *recent* proceedings of the "*society for constitutional information*," which had been incautiously put into his hands by Mr. Jones, a communication made by the latter to this society, of

his intention to leave England speedily on a *mission* greatly connected with the interests and welfare of his country. As the editor has not been able to procure this publication, he cannot pretend to give any thing more than the import of the words of this communication, which however made so strong an impression upon Mr. Jay, that he took the first opportunity of writing to his friends in congress, &c. to put them on their guard against any attempts from Mr. Jones for the purpose beforementioned. Probably this communication gave rise to the "*surmises and insinuations*" mentioned by lord Teignmouth. In fact, Mr. Paradise was not in any want of a lawyer, and especially an *English* lawyer; nor was his estate in Virginia of the magnitude supposed by lord Teignmouth, nor his finances in such a state as to enable him to defray the expenses of the voyage intended by Mr. Jones, and much less to afford him a compensation for leaving his then increasing professional business in England. But whatever may have been Mr. Jones's object in going to America, the failure of it, by Mr. Paradise's timidity and unwillingness to proceed further, after they had reached Nantes, was so displeasing to Mr. Jones, that it *there* produced a separation, and final termination of all intercourse between these gentlemen during the remainder of their lives.^p

While at Paris, Mr. Jones put into the hands of Dr. Franklin the following composition, entitled, A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS, which certainly was well calculated to promote that sort of reconciliation which is supposed to have been the *real* object of his intended voyage to the United States, and which, from its intrinsic merits, as well as the celebrity of the author, will, it is presumed, be acceptable to the readers of these memoirs. If to be considered as a diplomatic document, it is certainly of a very superior cast.—The allusions are evident.

^p See Vol. V. page 291, of this edition.

A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS.

From his Treatise on the Athenian Government.

* * * * *

“ATHENS had long been an object of universal admiration, and consequently of envy; her navy was invincible, her commerce extensive; Europe and Asia supplied her with wealth; of her citizens, all were intrepid, many virtuous; but some too much infected with principles unfavorable to freedom. Hence an oligarchy was, in a great measure established; crooked counsels were thought supreme wisdom; and the Athenians, having lost their true relish for their own freedom, began to attack that of their colonies, and of the states which they had before protected! Their arrogant claims of unlimited dominion, had compelled the Chians, Coans, Rhodians, Lesbians, to join with nine other small communities in the *social war*, which they began with inconceivable ardor, and continued with industry surpassing all example, and almost surpassing belief. They were openly assisted by *Mausolus*, king of *Caria*, to whose metropolis the united islands had sent a philosopher, named *Eleutherion*, eminent for the deepest knowledge of nature, the most solid judgment, most approved virtue, and most ardent zeal for the cause of general liberty. The war had been supported for three years with infinite exertions of valor on both sides, with deliberate firmness on the part of the allies, and with unabated violence on the part of the *Athenians*; who had, nevertheless, dispatched commissioners to Rhodes, with intent to propose terms of accommodation; but the states (perhaps too pertinaciously) refused to hear any proposal whatever, without a previous recognition of their total independence by the magistrates and people of Athens. It was not long after this, that an Athenian, who had been a pupil of *Isæus* together with *Demosthenes*, and began to be known in his country as a pleader of causes, was led by some affair of his clients to the capital of *Caria*. He was a man, unauthorised, unemployed, unconnected; independent in his circumstances as much as in his prin-

ciples: admitting no governor, under Providence, but the laws; and no laws but those which justice and virtue had dictated, which wisdom approved, which his country had freely enacted. He had been known at Athens to the sage Eleutherion; and, their acquaintance being renewed, he sometimes took occasion in their conversations to lament the increasing calamities of war, and to express his eager desire of making a general peace on such terms as *would produce the greatest good from the greatest evil*; for ‘this,’ said he, ‘would be a work not unworthy of the divine attributes, and if mortals could effect it, they would act like those beneficent beings, whom *Socrates* believed to be the constant friends and attendants of our species.’

“He added, ‘As to the united nations, I applaud, admire, and almost envy them; I am even tempted to wish that I had been born a Chian or a Rhodian; but let them be satisfied with the prize of virtue which they have already obtained. I will yield to none of your countrymen, my friend, in my love of *liberty*; but she seems more lovely to my eyes, when she comes hand in hand with *peace*. From that union we can expect nothing but the highest happiness of which our nature is capable; and it is an union, which nothing now obstructs but —a mere word.

“‘Let the confederates be contented with the *substance* of that *independence* which they have asserted, and the *word* will necessarily follow.

“‘Let them not hurt the natural, and, perhaps, not reprehensible, pride of *Athens*, nor demand any concession, that may sink in the eyes of *Greece*, a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interest, in principles. Glory is to a nation, what reputation is to an individual; it is not an empty sound: but important and essential. It will be glorious in Athens to acknowledge her error in attempting to reduce the islands, but an acknowledgement of her inability to reduce them (if she *be* unable) will be too public a confession of weakness, and her rank among the states of Greece will instantly be lowered.

“ ‘ But, whatever I might advise, if my advice had any chance of being taken, this *I know*, and positively pronounce, that while Athens is Athens, her proud but brave citizens will never *expressly* recognize the independence of the islands: their resources are no doubt exhaustible, but will not be exhausted in the lives of us and of our children. In this resolution all parties agree: I, who am of no party, dissent from them; but what is a single voice in so vast a multitude? Yet the independence of the United States was tacitly acknowledged by the very offer of terms, and it would result in silence from the natural operation of the treaty. An *express* acknowledgement of it is merely *formal* with respect to the allies; but the prejudices of mankind have made it *substantial* with respect to Athens.

“ ‘ Let this obstacle be removed: it is slight, but fatal; and, whilst it lasts, thousands and ten thousands will perish. In war much will always depend upon blind chance, and a storm or sudden fall of snow *may* frustrate all your efforts for liberty; but let commissioners from both sides meet, and the islanders, by not insisting on a *preliminary* recognition of independence, will *ultimately* establish it for ever.

“ ‘ But *independence* is not *disunion*. Chios, Cos, Lesbos, Rhodes, are *united*, but *independent* on each other: they are connected by a common tie, but have different forms and different constitutions. They are gems of various colors and various properties, strung in one bracelet. Such an *union* can only be made between states, which, how widely soever they differ in form, agree in one common property, *freedom*. Republics may form *alliances*, but not a *federal union*, with arbitrary monarchies. Were *Athens* governed by the *will* of a monarch, she could never be co-ordinate with the free islands; for such an union would not be dissimilarity but dissonance: but she is and shall be ruled by *laws* alone, that is, by the *will of the people*, which is the *only law*. Her Archon, even when he was *perpetual*, had no essential properties of monarchy. The constitution of Athens, if we must define it, was then a *republic with a perpetual administrator of its laws*.

Between *Athens*, therefore, and the freest states in the world, an *union* may naturally be formed.

“ ‘ There is a *natural* union between her and the islands, which the Gods have made, and which the powers of hell cannot dissolve. Men, speaking the same idiom, educated in the same manner, perhaps, in the same place; professing the same principles; sprung from the same ancestors, in no very remote degree; and related to each other in a thousand modes of consanguinity, affinity, and friendship, such men (whatever they may say through a temporary resentment) can never in their hearts consider one another as *aliens*.

“ ‘ Let them meet then with fraternal and pacific dispositions, and let this be the *general* ground-work and plan of the treaty.

“ 1, ‘ The *Carians* shall be included in the pacification, and have such advantages as will induce them to consent to the treaty rather than continue a hazardous war.

“ 2, ‘ The archon, senate, and magistrates of Athens shall make a complete *recognition of rights* of all the Athenian citizens of all orders whatever, and all former laws for that purpose shall be combined in one. There shall not be one *slave* in Attica.

“ NOTE. [By making this a *preliminary*, the islanders will show their affection for the people of Athens; their friendship will be cemented and fixed on a solid basis; and *the greatest good will be extracted*, as I at first proposed, *from the greatest evil*.]

“ 3, ‘ There shall be a perfect *co-ordination* between Athens and the thirteen united islands, they considering her not as a *parent*, whom they must *obey*, but as an elder *sister*, whom they cannot help *loving*, and to whom they shall give *pre-eminence of honor and co-equality of power*.

“ 4, ‘ The new constitutions of the confederate islands shall remain.

“ 5, ‘ On every occasion requiring *acts* for the *general* good, there shall be an assembly of deputies from the senate of Athens and the congress of the islands, who shall fairly

adjust the whole business, and settle the ratio of the contributions on both sides. This committee shall consist of fifty islanders and fifty Athenians, or of a smaller number chosen by them.

“ 6, ‘ If it be thought necessary and found convenient, a proportionable number of Athenian citizens shall have seats, and power of debating and voting on questions of *common* concern, in the great assembly of the islands, and a proportionable number of islanders shall sit with the like power in the assembly at Athens.

“ NOTE. [‘ This *reciprocal representation* will cement the union.]

“ 7, ‘ There shall be no obligation to make war but for the *common* interest.

“ 8, ‘ Commerce shall flow in a free course, for the *general* advantage of the united powers.

“ 9, ‘ An universal unlimited *amnesty* shall be proclaimed in every part of Greece and Asia.

“ ‘ This,’ said the *Athenian*, ‘ is the rough sketch of a treaty founded on virtue and liberty. The idea of it still fills and expands my soul; and *if* it cannot be realized, I shall not think it less glorious, but shall only grieve more and more at the perverseness of mankind. May the eternal Being, whom the wise and the virtuous adore, and whose attribute it is to convert into good, that evil which his unsearchable wisdom permits, inspire all ranks of men to promote either this or a similar plan! If this be impracticable, O miserable human nature! But I am fully confident that, if
* * * more at large * * happiness of all.’

* * * * *

“ No more is extant of this interesting piece, upon which the commentary of the sage Polybius would have been particularly valuable in these times.”

This classical and ingenious communication did not divert Dr. Franklin’s fixed sentiments respecting the perfect inde-

pendence of his country, as fully appears by several of his letters written immediately after to America, and particularly in one to Mr. Secretary Livingston, of the 28th June, 1782, wherein he remarks, that the intentions of the British ministry had, for some weeks past, appeared somewhat equivocal and uncertain, and adds: "It looks as if, since their late success in the West Indies, they a little repented of the advances they had made in their declarations respecting the *acknowledgement of our independence*; and we have good information, that some of the ministry still flatter the king with the hope of recovering his sovereignty over us, on the same terms as are now making with Ireland.—However willing we might have been at the commencement of this contest, to have accepted such conditions, be assured that we can have no safety in them at present. *The king hates us most cordially*. If he is once admitted to any degree of power or government amongst us, *however limited*, it will soon be extended by corruption, artifice, and force, till we are reduced to absolute subjection; and that the more easily, as by receiving him again for our king, we shall draw upon ourselves the contempt of all Europe, who now admire and respect us; and shall never again find a friend to assist us. There are, as reported, great divisions in the ministry on other points as well as this; and those who aim at engrossing the power, flatter the king with this project of *re-union*; and it is said, have much reliance on the operation of *private agents* sent into America to dispose minds in favor of it, and to bring about a separate treaty there with general Carleton."

Strong suspicions were undoubtedly entertained by some of the American commissioners, that Mr. Jones, under the particular influence of his friend and patron lord Shelburne, (then minister), had really agreed to lend the assistance of his talents and exertions in aid of this object. How far such "*surmises*" are borne out by what has preceded, is left to public decision. On his return to England, however, Mr. Jones thus expresses his sentiments on the subject of America, in a letter to lord Althorp, dated Oct. 5, 1782, as given

by lord Teignmouth. “As to *America*, I know not what * * * * * thinks: but this I know, that the sturdy transatlantic yeomanry will neither be *dragooned* nor *bamboozled* out of their liberty.”

The negotiations for peace with America had been going on at Passy, either directly or indirectly, ever since the late change of ministry in England. The particulars of the whole of these important transactions, and the letters and documents connected therewith, will be found in Dr. Franklin’s *PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE*; concerning the *negotiations for peace and commerce between Great Britain and the United States of America*, for the reasons already given. In this portion of the memoirs of Dr. Franklin will be seen the very considerable influence which that able statesman and negotiator exercised in bringing about the peace with America, and the final acknowledgement of her independence by Great Britain.

It may not, however, be superfluous nor uninteresting here, to insert the following extracts from two letters^a of Dr. Franklin’s, written shortly after the preliminaries were signed, as they give a general account of the manner in which the peace was brought about, and are expressive of his feelings and sentiments on that auspicious event.

To the Hon. Robert R. Livingston, Esq.

Passy, Dec. 5, 1782.

* * * * *

— You desire to be very particularly acquainted with “*every step which tends to a negotiation.*” I am, therefore, encouraged to send you the first part of the *JOURNAL*,^r which accidents, and a long severe illness, interrupted; but which, from notes I have by me, may be continued if thought proper. In its present state, it is hardly fit for the inspection of con-

^a Neither of these letters are inserted in the *quarto* edition of the *Private Correspondence*, forming vol. II. of these Memoirs. And the first letter only, in the octavo edition.

^r See Vol. V. of this edition, p. 203.

gress, certainly not for public view. I confide it therefore to your prudence.

The arrival of Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens, relieved me from much anxiety, which must have continued if I had been left to finish the treaty alone; and it has given me the more satisfaction, as I am sure the business has profited by their assistance.

Much of the summer was taken up in objecting to the powers given by Great Britain, and in removing those objections. The using any expressions that might imply an *acknowledgement* of our independence, seemed, at first, industriously to be avoided. But our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty; and then we came to the point of making propositions. Those made by Jay and me, before the arrival of the other gentlemen, you will find in the paper No. 1,^s which was sent by the British plenipotentiary to London for the king's consideration. After some weeks an under-secretary of state, Mr. Strachey, arrived, with whom we had much contestation about the boundaries and other articles which he proposed; we settled some which he carried to London, and returned with the propositions, some adopted, others omitted or altered, and new ones added; which you will see in paper No. 2.^t We spent many days in discussing and disputing, and at length agreed on and signed the PRELIMINARIES,^u which you will receive by this conveyance. The British ministers struggled hard for two points, that the favors granted to the royalists should be extended, and our fishery contracted. We silenced them on the first, by threatening to produce an account of the mischiefs done by those people; and as to the second, when they told us they could not possibly agree to it as we required it, and must refer it to the ministry in London, we produced a new article to be referred at the same time, with a note of facts in support of it, which you have No. 3. Apparently it

^s See Vol. V. p. 191, of this edition.

^t See same volume p. 179.

^u See same volume p. 184.

seemed that, to avoid the discussion of this, they suddenly changed their minds, dropped the design of recurring to London, and agreed to allow the fishery as demanded.

You will find in the preliminaries some inaccurate and ambiguous expressions that want explanation, and which may be explained in the definitive treaty. And as the British ministry excluded our proposition relating to commerce, and the American prohibition of that with England may not be understood to cease merely by our concluding a treaty of peace, perhaps we may then, if the congress shall think fit to direct it, obtain some compensation for the injuries done us, as a condition of our opening again the trade. Every one of the present British ministry has, while in the minority, declared the war against us *unjust*, and nothing is clearer in reason, than that those who injure others by an unjust war, should make full reparation. They have stipulated, too, in these preliminaries, that in evacuating our towns, they shall carry off no plunder, which is a kind of acknowledgement, that they ought not to have done it before.

The reason given us for dropping the article relating to commerce, was, that some statutes were in the way, which must be repealed before a treaty of that kind could well be formed; and that this was a matter to be considered in parliament.

They wanted to bring their boundary down to the *Ohio*, and to settle their loyalists in the *Illinois country*. We did not choose such neighbors.

We communicated all the articles, as soon as they were signed, to mons. le comte de Vergennes, (except the separate one) who thinks we have managed well, and told me,—that we had settled what was most apprehended as a difficulty in the work of a general peace, by obtaining *the declaration of our independence*.

* * * * *

I am now near entering my seventy-eighth year. Public business has engrossed fifty of them. I wish, for the little time I have left, to be my own master. If I live to see this peace

concluded, I shall beg leave to remind the congress of their promise then to dismiss me. I shall be happy to sing with old Simeon, “*Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*”

With great esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

To Dr. Cooper.

Passy, Dec. 26, 1782.

* * * * *

We have taken some good steps here towards a peace. Our independence is acknowledged; our boundaries as good and extensive as we demanded; and our fishery more so than the congress expected. I hope the whole preliminaries will be approved, and with the definitive treaty, when made, give entire satisfaction to our country. But there are so many interests to be considered between five nations, and so many claims to adjust, that I can hardly flatter myself to see the peace soon concluded, though I wish and pray for it, and use my best endeavors to promote it.

I am extremely sorry to hear language from Americans on this side the water, and to hear of such language from your side, as tends to hurt the good understanding that has hitherto so happily subsisted between this court and ours. There seems to be a party with you that wish to destroy it. If they could succeed, they would do us irreparable injury. It is our firm connection with France that gives us weight with England, and respect throughout Europe. If we were to break our faith with this nation, *on whatever pretence*, England would again trample on us, and every other nation despise us. We cannot, therefore, be too much on our guard, how we permit the *private resentments* of particular persons to enter into our public counsels. You will hear much of an intercepted letter communicated to us by the British ministry. The channel ought to be suspected. It may have received additions and alterations; but, supposing it all genuine, the forward, mistaken zeal of a secretary of legation should

not be imputed to the king, who has in so many ways proved himself our faithful and firm friend and ally.^v

^v *Copy of a letter from Barbe de Marbois to M. le Comte de Vergennes, decyphered and translated.*

SIR,

Philadelphia, March 13, 1782.

SOUTH CAROLINA again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body, after having been deprived of it for two years; it was summoned together towards the latter end of last January, at Jacksonburg, only ten leagues distant from Charleston; where deliberations are carried on with as much tranquillity as if the state was in profound peace. Mr. Rutledge, who was the governor, opened the meeting with a speech greatly applauded, wherein he represents in their full extent, the important services, rendered by the king to the United States, expressing their just acknowledgements for the same. This sentiment prevails much, sir; the different states are eager to declare it, in their public acts, and the principal members of government and the writers employed by them, would forfeit their popularity were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance. General Greene affirms that in no one state is attachment to independence carried to a higher pitch; but that this affection is yet exceeded by the hatred borne to England. The assembly of Carolina is going to make levies of men, and has imposed pretty large sums; as there is but little money in the country, the taxes will be gathered in indigo; and what deficiency may there be found, will be supplied by the sale of lands of such Carolinians as joined the enemy while they were in possession of the country. South Carolina was the only state that had not confiscated the property of the disaffected. The step just taken puts her on a footing with the other states of the union. The assembly of this state has passed a resolution in consequence of which a purchase of land is to be made of the value of two hundred and forty thousand *livres tournois*, which Carolina makes a present to general Greene as the savior of that province.

Mr. Matthews, a delegate from congress, lately arrived in Carolina, has, it is said, been chosen governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge: he has communicated to persons of the most influence in his state, the ultimatum of the month of last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly that one which leaves the king master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence, and treaties of alliance. A delegate from South Carolina told me, that this ultimatum was equally well known by persons of note in this state, and this had given entire satisfaction there; it is the same with regard to several other states; and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of several delegates, that this measure is approved by a great majority; but Mr. Samuel Adams is using all his endeavors to raise in the state of Massachusetts a strong opposition to peace, if the eastern states are not thereby admit-

In my opinion, the true political interest of America consists in observing and fulfilling with the greatest exactitude,

ted to the fisheries, and particularly to that of Newfoundland. Samuel Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himself on forming an opposition against the government whereof he is himself the president. His aim and intentions are to render the minority of consequence, and at this very moment he is attacking the constitution of Massachusetts, although it is in a great measure his own work; but he had disliked it since the people had shewn their uniform attachment to it.

It may be expected that with this disposition, no measure can meet the approval of Mr. Samuel Adams, and if the United States should agree relative to the fisheries, and be certain of partaking therein, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed towards the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia; but he could not have used a fitter engine than the fisheries for stirring up the passions of the Eastern people. By renewing this question which had lain dormant during his two years absence from Boston, he has raised the expectation of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints hold forth the importance of the fisheries; the reigning toast in the East is, *May the United States ever maintain their rights to the fisheries*. It has been often repeated in the deliberation of the general court; *No peace without fisheries*. However clear this principle may be in this matter, it would be needless and even dangerous to attempt informing the people through the public papers, but it appears to me possible to use means for preventing the consequences of success to Mr. S. Adams and his party; and I take the liberty of submitting these to your discernment and indulgence; one of those means would be for the king to cause it to be intimated to congress or to the ministers, "his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been intended in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions *without paying regard to the king's rights*, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests, and keeping what belongs to Great Britain."

His majesty might at the same time cause a promise to be given to congress "of his assistance for procuring admission to the other fisheries, declaring however that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing as the treaty makes no mention of that article." This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were even to be wished that this declaration should be made whilst New York, Charleston, and Penobscot are in the enemy's hands; our allies will be less tractable than ever upon these points whenever they recover these important ports. There are some judicious persons to whom one may speak of giving up the

the engagements of our alliance with France; and behaving at the same time towards England, so as not entirely to extinguish her hopes of a reconciliation.

fisheries and the* of the West for the sake of peace. But these are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail increasing when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burthen of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable that the advocates for peace are those who lived in the country. The inhabitants of towns whom commerce enriches, mechanics who receive there a higher pay than before war, and 5 or 6 times more than in Europe, do not wish for it; but it is a happy circumstance that this division be nearly equal in the congress and among the states, since our influence can incline the beam either for peace or war which ever way we choose. Another means of preserving to France so important a branch of her commerce and negotiation is that proposed to you, sir, by M. . . viz. the conquest of Cape Breton; it seems to me, as it does to that minister, the only sure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, those swarms of smugglers who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring spirit, and means towards the fisheries, whose undertakings congress will not perhaps have the power or the will to repress. If it be apprehended, that the peace which is to put an end to the present war will prove disagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of guarding against the effects of this discontent, of preventing the declarations of some states and other resources which turbulent minds might employ for availing themselves of the present juncture. This would be for his majesty to cause a memorial to be delivered to congress, wherein should be stated the use made by his ministers of the powers entrusted to them by that assembly; and the impediments which may have stood in the way of a fuller satisfaction on every point. This step would certainly be pleasing to congress; and should it become necessary to inform the people of this memorial, it could easily be done; they would be flattered by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I submit these thoughts to you early, and although peace appears yet to be distant, sir, by reason of delays and difficulties attending the communications, that period will be a crisis when the partizans of France and England will openly appear, and when that power will employ every means to diminish our influence; and re-establish her own; it is true, the independent party will always stand in great want of our support, that the fears and jealousies which a remembrance of the former government will always produce, must operate as the safeguard to our alliance, and as a security for the attachment of the Ame-

* Supposed Settlements, or Lands.

I long to see you and my country once more before I die,
being ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

In another part of the preceding letter to the honorable Robert R. Livingston, Dr. Franklin thus notices the commencement of the negotiation ordered by congress to be opened with the court of Sweden.

“As soon as I received the commission and instructions for treating with Sweden, I waited on its ambassador here; who told me, he daily expected a courier on that subject. Yesterday he wrote a note to acquaint me, that he would call on me to-day, having something to communicate. Being obliged to go to Paris, I waited on him, when he showed me the full powers he had just received, and I showed him mine. We agreed to meet on Wednesday next, exchange copies, and proceed to business. His commission has some polite expressions in it; viz. ‘That his majesty thought it for the good of his subjects to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, who had established their independence, so justly merited by their courage and constancy,’ or to that effect. I imagine this treaty will soon be completed.”

ricans to us. But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries besides Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavor that the Americans should partake in that of the Great Bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us; but it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to their true interest, and were she to do so, it will be for the better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded *and that his majesty does not mean to support it.*

I here inclose, sir, translations of the speech made by the governor of South Carolina to the assembly and of their answer. These interesting productions convey in a forcible manner the sentiments of the inhabitants of that state, and appeared to me worth communicating to you.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

BARBE DE MARBOIS.

This actually took place about four months afterwards, (April 3d, 1783), when a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and Sweden, was concluded and signed by the respective plenipotentiaries, Dr. Franklin and the count de Krutz.

Not long after this transaction, Dr. Franklin received the following letter from the Swedish chargé d'affaires, afterwards ambassador at the court of France, (baron de Staël) announcing the reception from his court of the ratification of the treaty, and renewing the request made by the late ambassador, count de Krutz, (intended no doubt as a compliment to Dr. Franklin), relative to Mr. Franklin being appointed by congress, resident minister at the court of Sweden; where the count then held the situation of prime minister.

“A son Excellence M. Franklin.

MONSIEUR,

Paris, le 13 Juin, 1783.

JE viens de recevoir la ratification de sa majesté, du traité de commerce conclu avec les Etats Unis; laquelle j'aurai l'honneur de vous remettre aussitôt qu'elle pourra être échangée contre celle du congrès.

Permettez, monsieur, que je vous repète à cette occasion, la demande que Mons. l'ambassadeur (le comte de Krutz)

TRANSLATION.

“To his Excellency Mr. Franklin.

SIR,

I HAVE received the ratification from his majesty, of the treaty of commerce concluded with the United States, which I shall have the power of transmitting to you as soon as it can be exchanged for that of the Congress.

Permit me, sir, to repeat to you on this occasion, the request that the ambassador (count de Krutz) made to you, on the subject of Mr. Franklin, your grandson, he has had the honor to say to you, that the king will see you with pleasure reside near him, in quality of minister of the congress, a person who bears your name, and joins thereto, qualities so estimable as the young Mr. Franklin. Before parting, he has charged me to repeat to you the same assurance; and permit me to add my own wishes, for the success of this affair.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem, and inviolable attachment, sir, &c.

BARON DE STAEL.

vous a faite, au sujet de *monsieur Franklin*, *votre petit-fils*. Il a eu l'honneur de vous dire, que le Roi verroit avec plaisir résider auprès de lui, en qualité de ministre du congrès, une personne qui porte votre nom; et y joint des qualités aussi estimables que le jeune M. Franklin. Avant de partir,* il m'a chargé de vous répéter la même assurance; et vous me permettrez d'y ajouter les vœux que je fais en mon particulier, pour la réussite de cette affaire.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec l'estime et l'attachement les plus parfaits et inviolables, monsieur, &c.

LE BARON DE STAEL.

Dr. Franklin shortly after communicated this request to the American secretary for foreign affairs (R. R. Livingston, esq.) in his official dispatch of the 22d July, 1783, as follows:

* * * * *

— “ You mention that an entire new arrangement with respect to foreign affairs, is under consideration. I wish to know, whether any notice is likely to be taken in it of my grandson. He has now gone through an apprenticeship of near seven years in the ministerial business, and is very capable of serving the States in that line, as possessing all the requisites of knowlege, zeal, activity, language, and address. He is well liked here, and count de Vergennes has expressed to me in warm terms his very good opinion of him. The late Swedish ambassador, count de Krutz, who is gone home to be prime minister, desired I would endeavor to procure his being sent to Sweden with a public character, assuring me that he should be glad to receive him there as our minister, and that he knew it would be pleasing to the king. The present Swedish ambassador has also proposed the same thing to me, as you will see by a letter of his, which I inclose. One of the Danish ministers, Mr. Waltersdorff, who will probably be sent in a public character to congress, has also expressed his wish that my grandson may be sent to Denmark. But it is not my custom to solicit employments for

myself or any of my family, and I shall not do it in this case. I only hope, that if he is not employed in your new arrangement, I may be informed of it as soon as possible; that while I have strength left for it, I may accompany him in a tour to Italy, returning through Germany, which I think he may make to more advantage with me than alone, and which I have long promised to afford him, as a reward for his faithful service, and his tender filial attachment to me."

These intimations from foreign courts, and this honorable and satisfactory testimony from one who had rendered the most eminent services to his country, were unnoticed by the American government; they are, however, no mean consolation to the object of them.

Shortly after signing the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain, Mr. Oswald's functions ceased; and a change in administration taking place, David Hartley, esq., was appointed minister plenipotentiary, and repaired to Paris, invested, as expressed in his commission, with full powers there to meet and confer with the ministers of the United States of America, duly authorised, for the purpose of perfecting and establishing the peace, friendship, and good understanding so happily commenced; and for opening, promoting, and rendering perpetual, the mutual intercourse of trade and commerce between the British dominions and the United States of America.

Several private communications had taken place relative to these objects, between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Hartley, previous to the latter receiving his appointment; these, together with the subsequent propositions and various transactions that occurred, after the respective plenipotentiaries had exchanged their full powers, will be seen in the **PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE**. Those with Mr. Hartley proceeded very slowly, owing principally to his conceiving it necessary to send every proposition, either of his own or the American ministers, to his court for their approbation, and their delay in answering. Eventually, the English ministry would not

agree to any of the propositions that had been made on either side; and sent over a project for the *definitive treaty*, consisting merely of the *preliminaries* formerly signed, with a short introductory paragraph, and an article at the conclusion, confirming and ratifying the said articles.

Finding nothing could be determined upon at that time with respect to commercial regulations, the American ministers, in order to terminate the affair, agreed to sign the plan offered them by Mr. Hartley, as the *definitive treaty*; which accordingly took place at Paris, on the 3d of Sept. 1783.

This business being accomplished, and Dr. Franklin not receiving any answer whatever from congress to his repeated official applications to be recalled; and his anxiety to return home increasing with his age and infirmities, he addressed a private request to the same effect to his friend general Mifflin, then president of congress, in order, through his interposition and influence, to obtain the wished-for object. The following is a copy of that letter.

To his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress.

(Private.)

DEAR SIR,

Passy, Dec. 26, 1783.

I CONGRATULATE you very sincerely on your appointment to that very honorable station, the presidency of congress. Every testimony you receive of the public sense of your services and talents, gives me pleasure.

I have written to you a long letter on business, in my quality of minister. This is a private letter, respecting my personal concerns, which I presume to trouble you with on the score of our ancient friendship.

In a letter of the 12th of March, 1781, I stated my age and infirmities to the congress, and requested they would be pleased to recal me, that I might enjoy the little left me of the evening of life in repose, and in the sweet society of my friends and family. I was answered by the then president, that when peace should be made, if I persisted in the same request, it should be granted. I acquiesced; the preliminaries

were signed in November, 1782, and I then repeated my petition. A year is past, and I have no answer. Undoubtedly, if the congress should think my continuing here necessary for the public service, I ought as a good citizen to submit to their judgment and pleasure; but as they may easily supply my place to advantage, that cannot be the case; I suppose therefore that it is merely the multiplicity of more important affairs, that has put my request out of their mind. What I would then desire of you is, to put this matter in train to be moved and answered as soon as possible, that I may arrange my affairs accordingly.

In the first letter abovementioned, to which I beg leave to refer you, I gave a character of my grandson, William Temple Franklin, and solicited for him the favor and protection of congress. I have nothing to abate of that character; on the contrary, I think him so much improved as to be capable of executing with credit to himself and advantage to the public, any employment in Europe the congress may think fit to honor him with. He has been seven years in the service, and is much esteemed by all that know him, particularly by the minister here, who, since my new disorder (the stone) makes my going to Versailles inconvenient to me, transacts our business with him in the most obliging and friendly manner. It is natural for me, who love him, to wish to see him settled before I die, in some employ that may probably be permanent; and I hope you will be so good to me, as to get that affair likewise moved and carried through in his favor. He has, I think, this additional merit to plead, that he has served in my office as secretary several years, for the small salary of 300 louis a year, while the congress gave 1000 a year to the secretaries of other ministers, who had not half the employ for a secretary that I had. For it was long before a consul was sent here, and we had all that business on our hands, with a great deal of admiralty business in examining and condemning captures taken by our cruisers, and by the French cruisers under American commissions; besides the constant attendance in examining and recording the ac-

ceptances of the congress bills of exchange, which has been, from the immense number, very fatiguing; with many other extra affairs, not usually occurring to other ministers, such as the care of the prisoners in England, and the constant correspondence relating to them, in all which he served me as secretary, with the assistance only of a clerk at low wages (fifty louis a year), so that the saving has been very considerable to the public.

* * * * *

Some months after this, Dr. Franklin again repeated the same earnest requests, to his friends and former colleagues, Mr. Jay and Mr. Laurens, then on the point of returning to the United States with their families.

To Mr. and Mrs. Jay he thus writes:

Passy, May 13, 1784.

MY dear friends, I find I shall not be able to see you again as I intended. My best wishes, however, go with you, that you may have a prosperous voyage and a happy sight of your friends and families.

Mr. Jay was so kind as to offer his friendly services to me in America. He will oblige me much by endeavoring to forward my discharge from this employment. Repose is now my only ambition.—If too he should think with me, that my grandson is qualified to serve the States as secretary to a future minister at this court, or as chargé des affaires, and will be kind enough to recommend such an appointment, it will exceedingly oblige me. I have twice mentioned this in my letter to congress, but have not been favored with any answer; which is hard, because the suspense prevents my endeavoring to promote him in some other way. I would not however be importunate; and therefore if Mr. Jay should use his interest without effect, I will trouble them no more on the subject. My grandson's acquaintance with the language, with the court, and customs here, and the particular regard monsieur de Vergennes has for him, are circumstances in his favor.

God bless and protect you both. Embrace my little friend for me, and believe me ever yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

To Mr. Laurens he writes thus:

Passy, May 13, 1784.

* * * * *

— “I AM sorry for the numerous disappointments you have lately met with. The world, it is true, is full of disappointments, but they are not equally divided, and you have had more than your share.

The ratifications of the definitive treaty are now exchanged; but Mr. Hartley waits for instructions respecting a treaty of commerce, which, from what you observe, may probably never arrive. I shall however be glad to receive what you are so good as to promise me, your thoughts on the subject of such a treaty.

You have been so kind as to offer me your friendly services in America. You will oblige me greatly in forwarding my dismissal from this employment, for I long much to be at home: and if you should think my grandson qualified to serve the States as secretary to my successor, or *chargé des affaires* till a successor arrives, I shall thank you for recommending him. His knowledge of this court, and acquaintance with the language; and the esteem the minister has for him, are circumstances in his favor: his long experience in the business here is another, he having served an apprenticeship to it for more than seven years. His intelligence, discretion, and address, you can judge better than myself, who may be partial. His fidelity and exactitude in performing his duty, I can answer for.

My best wishes attend you, your very valuable son, and amiable daughter. God bless you all, and give you a good voyage, and a happy meeting with your friends, with long life, health, and prosperity, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Dr. Franklin, as will have been previously seen, occasionally kept a private journal. The following extracts from one kept about this time, may not be found void of interest.

Private Journal.

Passy, June 26, 1784.

MR. WALTERSDORFF called on me, and acquainted me with a duel that had been fought yesterday morning, between a French officer,^r and a Swedish gentleman of that king's suite, in which the latter was killed on the spot, and the other dangerously wounded:—that the king does not resent it, as he thinks his subject was in the wrong.

He asked me if I had seen the king of Sweden?—I had not yet had that honor. He said his behavior here was not liked: that he took little notice of his own ambassador, who being acquainted with the usages of this court, was capable of advising him, but was not consulted. That he was always talking of himself, and vainly boasting of *his* revolution, though it was known to have been the work of M. de Vergennes. That they began to be tired of him here, and wished him gone, but he proposed staying till the 12th July. That he had now laid aside his project of invading Norway, as he found Denmark had made preparations to receive him. That he pretended the Danes had designed to invade Sweden, though it was a known fact, that the Danes had made no military preparations, even for defence, till six months after his began. I asked if it was clear that he had had an intention to invade Norway? He said that the marching and disposition of his troops, and the fortifications he had erected, indicated it very plainly. He added, that Sweden was at present greatly distressed for provisions; that many people had actually died of hunger! That it was reported the king came here to borrow money, and to offer to sell Gottenburg to France; a thing not very probable.

M. Dessaulx called, and said, it is reported, there is an alliance treating between the emperor of Austria, Russia, and

^r The Count de la Marche.

England; the purpose not known; and that a counter alliance is proposed between France, Prussia, and Holland, in which it is supposed Spain will join. He added that changes in the ministry are talked of; that there are cabals against M. de Vergennes; that M. de Calonne is to be *Garde des Sceaux*, with some other rumors fabricated perhaps at the *Palais Royal*.

June 29. Mr. Hammond, secretary to Mr. Hartley, called to tell me that Mr. Hartley had not received any orders by the last courier, either to stay or return, which he had expected; and that he thought it occasioned by their uncertainty what terms of commerce to propose, till the report of the committee of council was laid before parliament, and its opinion known; and that he looked on the delay of writing to him as a sign of their intending to do something.

He told me it was reported that the king of Sweden had granted the free use of Gottenburg as a port for France, which alarmed the neighboring powers. That in time of war, the northern coast of England might be much endangered by it.

June 30th. M. Dupont, inspector of commerce, come to talk with me about the free port of L'Orient, and some difficulties respecting it; I referred him to Mr. Barclay, an American merchant and commissioner for accounts; and as he said he did not well understand English when spoken, and Mr. Barclay did not speak French, I offered my grandson to accompany him as interpreter, which he accepted.

I asked him whether the Spaniards from the continent of America did not trade to the French Sugar islands? He said not. The only commerce with the Spaniards was for cattle between them and the French at St. Domingo. I had been told the Spaniards brought flour to the French islands from the continent. He had not heard of it. If we can find that such a trade is allowed (perhaps from the Mississippi), have not the United States a claim by treaty to the same privilege?

July 1st. The pope's Nuncio called and acquainted me that the pope had, on my recommendation, appointed Mr. John

Carrol, superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many of the powers of a bishop; and that probably he would be made a bishop *in partibus* before the end of the year. He asked me which would be most convenient for him, to come to France, or go to St. Domingo for ordination by another bishop, which was necessary. I mentioned Quebec as more convenient than either. He asked whether, as that was an English province, our government might not take offence at his going thither? I thought not, unless the ordination by that bishop should give him some authority over our bishop: he said, not in the least: that when our bishop was once ordained he would, be independent of the others, and even of the pope; which I did not clearly understand. He said the congregation *de propaganda fidei* had agreed to receive and maintain and instruct two young Americans in the languages and sciences at Rome: (he had formerly told me that more would be educated *gratis* in France). He added, they had written from America that there are twenty priests, but that they are not sufficient; as the new settlements near the Mississippi have need of some.

The Nuncio said we should find that the Catholics were not so intolerant as they had been represented; that the inquisition in Rome had not now so much power as that in Spain; and that in Spain it was used chiefly as a prison of state. That the congregation would have undertaken the education of more American youths, and may hereafter, but that at present they are overburthened, having some from all parts of the world. He spoke lightly of their new Bostonian convert, *Thayer's* conversion: that he had advised him not to go to America, but settle in France. That he wanted to go to convert his countrymen; but he knew nothing yet of his new religion himself, &c.

Received a letter from Mr. Bridgen of London, dated the 22d past, acquainting me that the council of the Royal Society had voted me a gold medal, on account of my letter in favor of captain Cooke. Lord Howe had sent me his Journal,

3 vols. 4to., with a large volume of engravings, on the same account, and, as he writes, “*with the king’s approbation.*”

July 3. Mr. Smeathman comes and brings two English or Scotch gentlemen: one a chevalier of some order, the other a physician who had lived long in Russia. Much conversation. Putrid fevers common in Russia, and in winter much more than in summer: therefore supposed to be owing to their hot rooms. In a gentleman’s house there are sometimes one hundred domestics; these have not beds, but sleep twenty or thirty in a close room warmed by a stove, lying on the floor and on benches. The stoves are heated by wood. As soon as it is burnt to coals, the chimney is stopt, to prevent the escape of hot and entry of cold air. So they breathe the same air over and over again all night. These fevers he cured by wrapping the patient in linen wet with vinegar, and making them breathe the vapor of vinegar thrown on hot bricks. The Russians have the art of distilling spirits from milk. To prepare it for distillation it must, when beginning to sour, be kept in continual motion or agitation for twelve hours; it then becomes an uniform vinous liquor, the cream, curd, and aqueous part or whey, all intimately mixt. Excellent in this state for restoring emaciated bodies. This operation on milk was discovered long since by the Tartars, who in their rambling life often carry milk in leather bags on their horses, and the motion produced the effect. It may be tried with us by attaching a large bag of milk to some part of one of our mills.

July 6. Directed Temple Franklin, who goes to court to-day, to mention three things to the minister. The *main levée* of the arrested goods, the port of L’Orient, and the consular convention; which he did with effect.—The port is fixed—and the convention preparing.—Hear that Gottenburg is to be a free port for France, where they may assemble northern stores, &c.

Mr. Hammond came and dined with me. He acquaints me, from Mr. Hartley, that no instructions are yet come from England.

July 7. A very hot day. Received a visit from the secretary of the king of Sweden, M. Franke, accompanied by the secretary of the embassy.

July 8. Mr. Franke dines with me, in company with Mde. Helvetius, abbé de la Roche, M. Cabanis, and an American captain. The king of Sweden does not go to England.

July 10. Mr. Grand came to propose my dining with the Swedish court at his house, which is next door, and I consented. While he was with me the consul came. We talked about the Barbary powers; they are four, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He informed me that Salee, the principal port belonging to the emperor of Morocco, had formerly been famous for corsairs. That this prince had discouraged them, and in 1768 published an edict declaring himself in peace with all the world, and forbid their cruising any more, appointing him consul for those Christian states who had none in his country. That Denmark pays him 25,000 *piastres fortes* yearly, in money; Sweden is engaged to send an ambassador every two years with presents; and the other powers buy their peace in the same manner; except Spain and the Italian States, with whom they have constant war. That he is consul for Sardinia and Prussia, for whom he procured treaties of peace. That he proposed a peace for Russia; but that the emperor having heard that Russia was going to war with his brother, the grand seignior, he refused it. Mr. Audibert Caille (the consul) thinks it shameful for Christendom to pay tribute to such *canaille*, and proposes two ways of reducing the barbarians to peace with all Europe, and obliging them to quit their piratical practices. They have need of many articles from Europe, and of a vent for their superfluous commodities. If, therefore, all Europe would agree to refuse any commerce with them but on condition of their quitting piracy, and such an agreement could be faithfully observed on our part, it would have its effect upon them. But if any one power would continue the trade with them, it would defeat the whole. There was another method he had projected, and communicated in a memorial to the court

here, by Mr. de Rayneval; which was, that France should undertake to suppress their piracies and give peace to all Europe, by means of its influence with the Porte: for all the people of these states being obliged by their religion to go at times in caravans to Mecca, and to pass through the grand seignior's dominions, who gives them escorts of troops through the desert, to prevent their being plundered and perhaps massacred by the Arabs, he could refuse them passage and protection but on condition of their living peaceably with the Europeans, &c. He spoke of Montgomery's transaction, and of Crocco, whom he understands was authorised by the court. The barbarians, he observed, having no commercial ships at sea, had vastly the advantage of the Europeans; for one could not make reprisals on their trade. And it has long been my opinion that if the European nations, who are powerful at sea, were to make war upon us Americans, it would be better for us to renounce commerce in our own bottoms, and convert them all into cruisers. Other nations would furnish us with what we wanted, and take off our produce. He promised me a note of the commerce of Barbary, and we are to see each other again, as he is to stay here a month.

Dined at Mr. Grand's, with the Swedish gentlemen. They were Mons. Losenstein, secretary of the embassy, and *****, with whom I had a good deal of conversation relating to the commerce possible between our two countries. I found they had seen at Rome, Charles Stuart, the *pretender*: they spoke of his situation as very hard: that France, who had formerly allowed him a pension, had withdrawn it, and that he sometimes almost wanted bread!

July 11. M. Waltersdorff called. He heard that the agreement with Sweden respecting the port of Gottenburg is not likely to be concluded. That Sweden wanted an island in the West Indies, to exchange. I think she is better without it.

July 13. Mess. Mirabeau and Champfort came and read their translation of the American pamphlet written by Mr. Ædanus Burke of South Carolina, against the Cincinnati, which they have much enlarged, *intending it as a covered sa-*

ture against noblesse in general. It is well done. There are also remarks on the last letter of general Washington on that subject. They say general Washington missed a *beau moment*, when he accepted to be of that society, which some affect to call an *order*. The same of the marquis de la Fayette.

July 14. Mr. Hammond calls to acquaint me that Mr. Hartley is still without any instructions relating to the treaty of commerce; and supposes it occasioned by their attention to the India bill. I said to him,—your court and this seem to be waiting for one another, with respect to the American trade with your respective islands. You are both afraid of doing too much for us, and yet each wishes to do a little more than the other. You had better have accepted our generous proposal at first, to put us both on the same footing of free intercourse that existed before the war. You will make some narrow regulations, and then France will go beyond you in generosity. You never see your follies till too late to mend them.—He said, lord Sheffield was continually exasperating the parliament against America. He had lately been publishing an account of loyalists murdered there, &c. Probably invented.

Thursday, July 15. The duke de Chartres's balloon went off this morning from St. Cloud, himself and three others in the gallery. It was foggy, and they were soon out of sight. But the machine being disordered, so that the trap or valve could not be opened to let out the expanding air, and fearing that the balloon would burst, they cut a hole in it which ripped larger, and they fell rapidly, but received no harm. They had been a vast height, met with a cloud of snow, and a tornado which frightened them.

Friday, 16. Received a letter from two young gentlemen in London, who are come from America for ecclesiastical orders, and complain that they have been delayed there a year, and that the archbishop will not permit them to be ordained, unless they will take the oath of allegiance; and desiring to know if they may be ordained here. Inquired and

learnt, that if ordained here, they must vow obedience to the archbishop of Paris. Directed my grandson to ask the Nuncio, if their bishop in America might not be instructed to do it literally?

Saturday, 17. The Nuncio says the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Roman Catholics. Wrote them an answer.^a

Sunday, 18. A good abbé brings me a large manuscript, containing a scheme of reformation of all churches and states, religion, commerce, laws, &c., which he has planned in his closet, without much knowledge of the world. I have promised to look it over, and he is to call next Thursday. It is amazing the number of legislators that kindly bring me new plans for governing the United States.

Monday, July 19. Had the Americans at dinner, with Mr. White and Mr. Arbuthnot from England. The latter was an officer at Gibraltar during the late siege. He says the Spaniards might have taken it; and that it is now a place of no value to England. That its supposed use as a port for a fleet to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, is chimerical. That while the Spaniards are in possession of Algeziras, they can with their gun-boats, in the use of which they are grown very expert, make it impossible for any fleet to lie there.

Tuesday, 20. My grandson went to court. No news there, except that the Spanish fleet against Algiers is sailed. Received only one American letter by the packet, which is from the college of Rhode Island, desiring me to solicit benefactions of the king, which I cannot do, for reasons which I shall give them. It is inconceivable why I have no letters from congress. The treaties with Denmark, Portugal, &c. all neglected! Mr. Hartley makes the same complaint. He is still without orders. Mr. Hammond called and dined with me; says Mr. Pitt begins to lose his popularity; his new taxes, and project about the navy bills, give great discontent. He

^a See Vol. VI. page 138, this edition.

has been burnt in effigy at York. His East India bill is not likely to go down; and it is thought he cannot stand long. Mr. Hammond is a friend of Mr. Fox;—whose friends, that have lost their places, are called *Fox's Martyrs*.

Wednesday, July 21. Count de Haga^z sends his card to take leave. M. Grand tells me he has bought here my bust, with that of M. D'Alembert or Diderot, to take with him to Sweden. He set out last night.

Thursday, 22. Lord Fitzmaurice, son of lord Shelburne, arrives; brought me sundry letters and papers.

He thinks Mr. Pitt in danger of losing his majority in the house of commons, though great at present; for he will not have wherewithal to pay them. I said, that governing by a parliament which must be bribed, was employing a very expensive machine, and that the people of England would in time find out, though they had not yet, that since the parliament must always do the will of the minister, and be paid for doing it, and the people must find the money to pay them, it would be the same thing in effect, but much cheaper, to be governed by the minister at first hand, without a parliament. Those present seemed to think the reasoning clear. Lord Fitzmaurice appears a sensible, amiable young man.

Tuesday, 27. Lord Fitzmaurice called to see me. His father having requested that I would give him such instructive hints as might be useful to him, I occasionally mentioned the old story of Demosthenes' answer to one who demanded what was the first point of oratory? *Action*. The second? *Action*. The third? *Action*: which I said had been generally understood to mean the action of an orator with his hands, &c. in speaking; but that I thought another kind of action of more importance to an orator, who would persuade people to follow his advice, viz. such a course of action in the conduct of life, as would impress them with an opinion of his integrity as well as of his understanding. That this opinion once established, all the difficulties, delays, and oppositions, usually

* The king of Sweden.

occasioned by doubts and suspicions, were prevented; and such a man, though a very imperfect speaker, would almost always carry his points against the most flourishing orator, who had not the character of sincerity. To express my sense of the importance of a good private character in public affairs more strongly, I said the advantage of having it, and the disadvantage of not having it, were so great, that I even believed if George III. had had a bad private character, and John Wilkes a good one, the latter might have turned the former out of his kingdom.—Lord Shelburne, the father of lord Fitzmaurice, has unfortunately the character of being *insincere*; and it has hurt much of his usefulness; though in all my concerns with him, I never saw any instance of that kind.

[This Journal does not appear to have been continued further at this period; it is to be regretted that it is not more extensive.]

In the year 1784, when *animal magnetism* made considerable noise in the world, particularly at Paris, it was thought a matter of such importance that the king appointed commissioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended science. Dr. Franklin, at the particular request of his majesty, signified to him by a letter from the minister, consented to be one of the number. After a fair and diligent examination, in the course of which doctor Delon, a pupil and partner of Mesmer, repeated a number of experiments, in the presence of the commissioners, some of which were tried upon themselves, they determined that it was a mere trick, intended to impose on the ignorant and credulous; and gave in their report accordingly to his majesty; which was afterwards published for the information of the public. Mesmer, and his associate Delon, were thus interrupted in their career to wealth and spurious fame; and a most insolent attempt to impose upon the human understanding, baffled.

Sometime after, Dr. Franklin, in a letter to his friend Dr. Ingenhausz, thus notices the subject.

“Mesmer continues here, and has still some adherents, and some practice. It is surprising how much credulity still subsists in the world. I suppose all the physicians in France put together, have not made so much money, during the time he has been here, as he alone has done! And we have now a fresh folly. A magnetiser pretends, that he can, by establishing what is called a *rappor*t between any person and a *somnambule*, put it in the power of that person to direct the actions of the *somnambule* by a simple strong volition only, without speaking or making any signs; and many people daily flock to see this strange operation.”

The important ends of Dr. Franklin's mission to Europe being attained by the establishment and acknowledgement of American independence; and the infirmities of age and disease increasing upon him, he became more and more desirous of being relieved from his public situation, and of returning to his native country. Upon a renewed application to congress to be recalled, he at length obtained his request, and Mr. Thomas Jefferson was appointed to succeed him; a more able and suitable successor, in every respect, could not have been found.

The following letters passed on this occasion, between Dr. Franklin, and the French minister for foreign affairs.

To his Excellency Count de Vergennes, &c. &c.

SIR,

Passy, May 3, 1785.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint your excellency, that I have at length obtained, and yesterday received, the permission of congress to return to America. As my malady makes it impracticable for me to pay my devoirs at Versailles personally, may I beg the favor of you, sir, to express respectfully for me to his majesty, the deep sense I have of all the inestimable benefits his goodness has conferred on my country; a sentiment that it will be the business of the little remainder of life now left me, to impress equally on the minds of all my countrymen. My sincere prayers are, that God may

shower down his blessings on the king, the queen, their children, and all the royal family, to the latest generations!

Permit me, at the same time, to offer you my thankful acknowledgements for the protection and countenance you afforded me at my arrival, and your many favors during my residence here; of which I shall always retain the most grateful remembrance.

My grandson would have had the honor of waiting on you with this letter, but he has been some time ill of a fever.

With the greatest esteem and respect, and best wishes for the constant prosperity of yourself, and all your amiable family, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Answer to the foregoing]

À son Excellence Monsieur Franklin.

À Versailles, le 22 Mai, 1785.

J'AI appris avec beaucoup de peine, monsieur, votre retraite et votre prochain départ pour l'Amerique. Vous ne devez pas douter que les regrets que vous laisserez, ne soient proportionnés à la considération dont vous jouissez à si juste titre. Je puis vous assurer, monsieur, que l'estime que le roi vous porte, ne vous laisse rien à désirer, et que sa majesté

TRANSLATION.

À To his Excellency M. Franklin.

Versailles, 22d May, 1785.

I LEARN with great pain, sir, of your resignation, and that you are about to return to America. You can have no doubt of the regrets which your departure will produce, it will be proportioned to that consideration to which you are so justly entitled. I can assure you, sir, that the esteem which the king bears for you, is not less than you could wish, and that his majesty contemplates with true gratification, that your countrymen will appreciate in a manner worthy of you, the importance of the services which you have rendered to your country.

I pray you, sir, to retain for me a place in your remembrance, and never to doubt the sincerity of the interest which I take in your happiness: it is in the spirit of these feelings of attachment that I offer you the wishes with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DE VERGENNES.

apprendra avec une véritable satisfaction, que vos compatriotes ont récompensé d'une manière digne de vous, les importants services que vous leur avez rendus.

Je vous prie, monsieur, de me conserver une part dans votre souvenir, et de ne jamais douter de la sincérité de l'intérêt que je prends à votre bonheur: il a pour principe les sentimens d'attachement que je vous ai voués, et avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

DE VERGENNES.

One of the last public acts of Dr. Franklin in Europe, as plenipotentiary from congress, took place on the 9th of July, 1785, when he concluded and signed (jointly with other American commissioners) a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the king of Prussia. This treaty is remarkable as containing a strong and lasting testimony of Dr. Franklin's wonted philanthropy. In it was introduced for the first time, (and, to the disgrace of governments, perhaps for the last) that benevolent article against the molestation of the persons and property of *unarmed citizens* in time of war; and against privateering. The establishing of this principle as the future law of nations, was a favorite object of Dr. Franklin. In the beginning of the year 1783, he formally proposed the same to the British government, through the medium of one of its envoys, as appears by his letter to Mr. Oswald of the 14th January, 1783, to which is subjoined his motives and arguments at length, in favor of this improvement of the law of nations.^c The article then proposed was nearly the same as that which he afterwards actually introduced, and constituted as part of the treaty with Prussia; it runs thus:

ARTICLE 23.

"IF war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months, to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and

^c See Vol. V. p. 191, of this edition.

may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artizans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, and places; and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons; nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of the war, they may happen to fall: but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels, employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessities, conveniences, and comforts of human life, more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce.”^d

During Dr. Franklin’s residence in France, notwithstanding the important and multifarious concerns attending his public situation, he nevertheless found time to write several papers on philosophical and other subjects; which will appear in their appropriate places.

A few days before he left Passy, he received an additional proof of the personal esteem entertained for him at the court of France, by the following letter from the marechal duc de Castries, the minister of the marine.

A son Excellence M. Franklin.

Versailles, le 10 Juillet, 1785.

JE n’ai appris, monsieur, que depuis très-peu de jours, les dispositions que vous avez faites pour votre départ. Si j’en eusse été informé plutôt, je me serois empressé à proposer

^d This Prussian treaty, entered into on the 9th July, 1785, to continue in force ten years; a new treaty was entered into the 11th July, 1799; in which the humane clause was *specially* abandoned, upon the pretence of “the article respecting *free ships making* free goods not being sufficiently respected during the two last wars;” John Quincy Adams being the negotiator, and John Adams being president of the United States.

au roi de destiner une frégate pour vous transporter dans votre patrie, d'une manière à lui faire connoître la considération que les services distingués que vous avez rendus vous ont acquis en France, et les bontés particulières de sa majesté pour vous.

Je vous prie, monsieur, d'agréer mes regrets, et une nouvelle assurance de la plus parfaite considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

LE MARL. DE CASTRIES.^c

The infirmity under which Dr. Franklin labored, was such, that he could not support the motion of a carriage. In consequence, the queen's litter, borne by Spanish mules was kindly offered and gratefully accepted, to convey him from Passy to Havre-de-Grace, where he proposed embarking. In this easy vehicle he made that journey, followed by his family and some friends in carriages. On the road, he experienced every mark of respect, attention, and kindness, from several of the nobility and gentry whose *chateaux* lay adjoining, and particularly from the cardinal de la Rochefoucault at Gailon, where he passed a night with his accompanying friends and attendants. He arrived safe at Havre, without having experienced any material inconvenience from the journey, and there embarked in a small packet, crossed the British channel, and landed at Southampton. Here he remained a

TRANSLATION.

To his Excellency Mr. Franklin.

Versailles, 10 July, 1785.

I WAS not apprized, sir, until within a few hours of the arrangements which you have made for your departure. Had I been informed of it sooner, I should have proposed to the king to order a frigate to convey you to your own country, in a manner suitable to the known importance of the services you have been engaged in, to the esteem you have acquired in France, and the particular esteem which his majesty entertains for you.

I pray you, sir, to accept my regrets and a renewed assurance of the most entire consideration, with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

LE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

few days, and had the satisfaction of seeing his son, the former governor of New Jersey; and receiving the visits of several of his English friends. Among these were the bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. Shipley), Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, &c. &c. He embarked on board a Philadelphia ship called the *London Packet*, captain Thomas Truxton, on the 27th July, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at Philadelphia on the 14th September. But his own account of his journey from Passy, to Havre, and his subsequent voyage to Southampton and thence to America, as taken from his pocket journal, may not perhaps be entirely void of interest. It is as follows.

Private Journal.

“HAVING staid in France about eight and a half years I took leave of the court and my friends, and set out on my return home, July 12, 1785, leaving Passy with my two grandsons, at four P. M.; arrived about eight at *St. Germain*s. M. de Chaumont, with his daughter Sophia, accompanied us to *Nanterre*. M. le Veillard will continue with us to Havre. We met at *St. Germain*s the Miss Alexanders with Mrs. Williams our cousin, who had provided a lodging for me at M. Benoit's. I found that the motion of the litter, lent me by the duc de Coigny, did not much incommode me. It was one of the queen's, carried by two very large mules, the muleteer riding another; M. le Veillard and my children in a carriage. We drank tea at M. Benoit's, and went early to bed.

Wednesday, July 13. Breakfast with our friends, take leave and continue our journey, dine at a good inn at *Meulan*, and get to *Mantes* in the evening. A messenger from the cardinal de Rochefoucault meets us there, with an invitation to us to stop at his house at *Gaillon* the next day, acquainting us at the same time, that he would take no excuse, for being all-powerful in his archbishopric, he would stop us *volens* at his habitation, and not permit us to lodge any where else. We consented. Lodged at *Mantes*. Found myself very little fatigued with the day's journey, the mules going only foot pace.

Thursday, July 14. Proceed early, and breakfast at *Vernon*. Received a visit there from vicomte de Tilly and his comtesse. Arrive at the cardinal's without dining, about six in the afternoon. It is a superb ancient chateau, built about three hundred and fifty years since, but in fine preservation, on an elevated situation, with an extensive and beautiful view over a well cultivated country. The cardinal is archbishop of Rouen. A long gallery contains the pictures of all his predecessors. The chapel is elegant in the old style, with well-painted glass windows. The terrace magnificent. We supped early. The entertainment was kind and cheerful. We were allowed to go early to bed, on account of our intention to depart early in the morning. The cardinal pressed us to pass another day with him, offering to amuse us with hunting in his park: but the necessity we are under of being in time at Havre, would not permit. So we took leave and retired to rest. The cardinal is much respected and beloved by the people of this country, bearing in all respects an excellent character.

Friday, July 15. Set out about five in the morning, travelled till ten, then stopped to breakfast, and remained in the inn during the heat of the day. We had heard at the cardinal's, that our friend Mr. Holker of Rouen had been out as far as Port St. Antoine to meet us; expecting us there from a letter of M. de Chaumont's. Here came to us one of his servants, who was sent to inquire if any accident had happened to us on the road, and was ordered to proceed till he got intelligence. He went directly back, and we proceeded. We passed a chain of chalk mountains very high, with strata of flints. The quantity that appears to have been washed away on one side of these mountains, leaving precipices of three hundred feet high, gives an idea of extreme antiquity. It seems as if done by the beating of the sea. We got to *Rouen* about five, were most affectionately received by Mr. and Mrs. Holker. A great company of genteel people at supper, which was our dinner. The chief president of the parliament and his lady invite us to dine the next day; but being pre-

engaged with Mr. Holker, we compounded for drinking tea. We lodge all at Mr. Holker's.

Saturday, July 16. A deputation from the academy of Rouen came with their compliments, which were delivered in form, and a present for me by one of the directors, being a magical square, which I think he said expressed my name. I have perused it since, but do not comprehend it. The duke de Chabot's son, lately married to a Montmorency, and colonel of a regiment now at Rouen, was present at the ceremony, being just come in to visit me. I forgot to mention that I saw with pleasure in the cardinal's cabinet, a portrait of this young man's grandmother, madame la duchesse d'Enville, who had always been our friend, and treated us with great civilities at Paris; a lady of uncommon intelligence and merit.

I received here also a present of books, 3 vols. 4to., from Dr. * * * * *, with a very polite letter, which I answered.

We had a great company at dinner; and at six went in a chair to the president's, where were assembled some gentlemen of the robe. We drank tea there, awkwardly made, for want of practice, very little being drunk in France. I went to bed early; but my company supped with a large invited party, and were entertained with excellent singing.

Sunday, July 17. Set out early. Mr. Holker accompanied us some miles, when we took an affectionate leave of each other. Dine at *Ivetot*, a large town, and arrive at *Bolbec*, being the longest day's journey we have yet made. It is a market town of considerable bigness, and seems thriving; the people well clad, and appear better fed than those of the wine countries. A linen printer here offered to remove to America, but I did not encourage him.

Monday, July 18. Left *Bolbec* about ten o'clock, and arrive at *Havre* at five P. M., having stopt on the road at a miserable inn to bait. We were very kindly received by M. and Mde. Ruellan. The governor makes us a visit, and some other gentlemen.

Tuesday, July 19. We receive visits in form from the intendant, the governor or commandant, the officers of the regiment of Poitou and Picardy, the corps of engineers, and M. Limosin.

M. Limosin proposes several vessels; all very dear. We wait for the packet from Southampton. Dine at M. Ruellan's, where we lodge. Receive the affiliation, of the lodge at Rouen.

Wednesday, July 20. Return the visits. Receive one from the *corps de marine*; and one from the *corps d'artillerie*. M. Houdon arrives and brings me letters. Dine at M. Limosin's. Present M. and Mde. le Mesurier and their sister, agreeable people of Alderney (Auvigny). Kindly entertained by M. L. and his daughter. Return the last visits.

The packet-boat arrives, and the captain (Jennings) calling at our lodging, we agreed with him to carry us and the baggage we have here for ten guineas, to land us at *Corwes*. We are to depart to-morrow evening.

Thursday, July 21. We had another visit from M. de Vileneuve, the commandant, inviting us to dine with him to-morrow; but intending to go off this evening, we could not accept that honor.

Dine with our friendly host and hostess. Madame Feines, madame de Clerval, and two other ladies, visit M. le Veillard with several gentlemen.

In the evening when we thought we were on the point of departing, the captain of the packet comes and acquaints us that the wind is right against us, and blows so hard, that it is impossible to get out, and we give up the project till to-morrow.

Friday, July 22. Breakfast and take leave of some friends, and go on board the packet at half after ten. Wind not very fair.

Saturday, July 23. Buffet all night against the north west wind, which was full in our teeth. This continued till two o'clock to day, then came fair, and we stand our course. At seven P. M. we discover land, the *Isle of Wight*.

Sunday, July 24. We had a fair wind all night, and this morning at seven o'clock, being off *Cowes*, the captain represented to me the difficulty of getting in there against the flood; and proposing that we should rather run up to *Southampton*, which we did, and landed there between eight and nine. Met my son, who had arrived from London the evening before, with Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Alexander. Wrote a letter to the bishop of St. Asaph, acquainting him with my arrival, and he came with his lady and daughter, Miss Kitty, after dinner to see us; they talk of staying here as long as we do. Our meeting was very affectionate. I write letters to London, viz. to Messrs. W. J. M. and Co., to acquaint them with our arrival, and desire to know when the ship will sail, and to Mr. Williams. These letters went by post, before we knew of his being here. Wrote also to Mr. B. Vaughan.

Monday, July 25. The bishop and family lodging in the same inn, the *Star*, we all breakfast and dine together. I went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt water hot bath, and floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch without sinking or turning; a thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. Read over the writings of conveyance, &c. of my son's lands in New Jersey, and New York to my grandson. Write to M. Ruellan, M. Limosin, and M. Holker, and M. Grand. Southampton a very neat pretty place. The two French gentlemen, our friends, much pleased with it. The bishop gives me a book in 4to. written by dean Paley, and the family dine with us. Sundry friends came to see me from London, by one I received a present of my friend Dr. Fothergill's works, from Dr. Lettsom; and a book on finance from Mr. Gale. Mr. Williams tells me the ship had fallen down to Gravesend the 22d, so that she might be in the Downs the 24th, and possibly here to-morrow, that is, on the Mother Bank, which we can see hence. Mr. Williams brought a letter from Mr. Nepean, secretary to lord Townsend, addressed to Mr. Vaughan, expressing, that orders would be sent to the custom-house at Cowes not to trouble

our baggage, &c. It is still here on board the packet that brought it over. Mr. Alexander takes leave for London; write by him to Mr. Jackson, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Lettsom, and my son-in-law Bache, the latter to be sent by the packet.

July 26. Deeds signed between W. Franklin and W. T. Franklin.

Mr. Williams having brought sundry necessaries for me, goes down with them to *Cowes*, to be ready for embarking. Captain Jennings carries down our baggage that he brought from Havre. My dear friend, M. le Veillard, takes leave to go with him. Mr. Vaughan arrives from London, to see me.

Wednesday, July 27. Give a power to my son to recover what may be due to me from the British government. Hear from J. Williams that the ship is come.

We all dine once more with the bishop and family, who kindly accept our invitation to go on board with us. We go down in a shallop to the ship. The captain entertains us at supper. The company stay all night.

Thursday, July 28. When I waked in the morning found the company gone, and the ship under sail."

* * * * *

Nothing material occurred during the passage: Dr. Franklin occupied himself, as in former voyages, in ascertaining daily the temperature of the sea-water by the thermometer; and he wrote a very interesting and useful paper on "*Improvements in Navigation*," which he addressed to monsieur Alphonse le Roy, at Paris. It was afterwards read in the American Philosophical Society, December 3, 1785, and will be found in his philosophical writings.

The foregoing little journal concludes thus:

"Tuesday, Sept 13. The wind springing fair last evening after a calm, we found ourselves, this morning at sun-rising, abreast of the light-house, and between Capes May and Henlopen. We sail into the bay very pleasantly; water smooth, air cool, day fair and fine.

We passed Newcastle about sun-set, and went on near to Redbank before the tide and wind failed, then came to an anchor.

Wednesday, Sept. 14. With the flood in the morning came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor to wait for an health-officer, who having made his visit, and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land. My son-in-law came with a boat for us, we landed at Market street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well.

God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!"

END OF PART IV.

PART V.

THE arrival of Dr. Franklin in Philadelphia, is thus accurately related by one of his historians: “He was received amidst the acclamations of an immense number of the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts in order to see him, and conducted him in triumph to his own house. In the mean time, the cannon and the bells of the city announced the glad tidings to the neighboring country; and he was waited upon by the congress, the university, and all the principal citizens, who were eager to testify their esteem and veneration for his character.”

Another writer thus enthusiastically notices his return:

“His entry into Philadelphia resembled a triumph; and he traversed the streets of that capital amidst the benedictions of a free and grateful people, who had not forgotten his services.

“The warriors who had shed their blood for an independence, insured by means of his sagacity, were eager to exhibit to him their glorious wounds. He was surrounded by old men, who had petitioned Heaven to live long enough to behold his return; and by a new generation eager to survey the features of a great man, whose talents, whose services, and whose virtues, had excited in their hearts the first raptures of enthusiasm. Having advanced from a port, henceforth open to all nations, to a city, the model of all future capitals, he beheld the public school which he had founded,—in a state of splendor; and saw the hospital, the establishment of which had been one of his first services, and the increase of which was owing to his foresight,—now fully commensurate to all his wishes: the latter by solacing suffering humanity; the former by aiding the progress of reason. He then

turned his eyes towards the neighboring country, embellished by liberty, in which, in the midst of public prosperity, were still to be seen some vestiges of the ravages of the English; but these only served by their contrast to endear still more the pleasures arising from peace—and victory!”

The following are some of the numerous congratulatory addresses presented to Dr. Franklin on his return:

To the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D., &c.

THE representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met; in the most affectionate manner congratulate you on your safe arrival in your country, after so long an absence on the most important business. We likewise congratulate you on the firm establishment of the independence of America, and the settlement of a general peace, after the interesting struggle in which we were so long engaged.

We are confident, sir, that we speak the sentiments of this whole country, when we say, that your services, in the public councils and negotiations, have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of history, to your immortal honor. And it is particularly pleasing to us, that, while we are sitting as members of the assembly of Pennsylvania, we have the happiness of welcoming into the state, a person who was so greatly instrumental in forming its free constitution.

May it please God to give you a serene and peaceful enjoyment of the evening of life, and a participation of that happiness you have been so instrumental in securing to others.

Signed, by order of the house,

JOHN BAYARD, Speaker.

Assembly Chambers, Sept. 15, 1785.

Dr. Franklin's Reply.

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN,

I AM extremely happy to find by your friendly and affectionate address, that my endeavors to serve our country in the late important struggle, have met with the approbation of so respectable a body as the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania. I esteem that approbation as one of the greatest honors of my life. I hope the peace with which God has been graciously pleased to bless us may be lasting, and that the free constitution we now enjoy, may long contribute to promote our common felicity. The kind wishes of the general assembly for my particular happiness affect me very sensibly, and I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgements.

To the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D., &c.

SIR,

IT is with peculiar pleasure that the *American Philosophical Society* address you on this occasion.

The high consideration and esteem in which we hold your character, so intimately combine with our regard for the public welfare, that we participate eminently in the general satisfaction which your return to America produces.

We bid you welcome to your native country, for which you have done the most essential services:—and we welcome you to this chair, your occupying of which, as *President*, adds to our institution much lustre in the eyes of the world.

Sir, it reflects honor on *philosophy*, when one distinguished by his deep investigations, and many valuable improvements in it, is known to be equally distinguished for his philanthropy, patriotism, and liberal attachment to the rights of human nature.

We know the favorable influence that freedom has upon the growth of sciences and arts. We derive encouragement and extraordinary felicity from an assemblage of recent memorable events.

And while we boast in a most pleasing equality permanently ascertained; and that independence which you had so great a share in establishing; we have reason to expect, that this society will proceed with an increasing success, to conduct the important business for which they originally associated.

The President's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE great honor done me by the society, in choosing me so many years successively their president, notwithstanding my absence in Europe, and the very kind welcome they are pleased to give me on my return, demand my most grateful acknowledgements; which I beg they would be pleased to accept, with my warmest wishes of success to their laudable endeavors for the promoting of useful knowledge among us, to which I shall be happy if I can in any degree contribute.

To the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D., &c.

The Address of the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors of the University of Pennsylvania.

HONORED SIR,

THE Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors of the University of Pennsylvania, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival in your native country, after having accomplished the duties of your exalted character with dignity and success.

While we participate in the general happiness of America, to the establishment of which your political abilities and patriotic exertions have so signally contributed; we feel a particular pleasure in paying our acknowledgements to the gentleman who first projected the liberal plan of the institution, over which we have the honor to preside.

Not contented with enriching the world with the most important discoveries in natural philosophy, your benevolence and liberality of sentiment early engaged you to make provision for exciting a spirit of inquiry into the secret operations of nature; for exalting and refining the genius of America, by the propagation of useful learning; and for qualifying many of her sons to make that illustrious figure which has commanded the esteem and admiration of the most polished nations of Europe.

Among the many benevolent projections which have laid so ample a foundation for the esteem and gratitude of your native country, permit this seminary to reckon her first establishment, upon the solid principles of equal liberty, as one of the most considerable and important: and now when restored, through the influence of our happy constitution, to her original broad and catholic bottom; when enriched by the protection and generous donations of a public-spirited and patriotic assembly; and when flourishing under the countenance of the best friends of religion, learning, and liberty in the state; she cannot but promise herself the continued patronage of the evening of that life which divine Providence has so eminently distinguished.

May the same indulgent Providence yet continue your protracted life, enriched and crowned with the best of blessings, to nurse and cherish this favorite child of your youth; that the future sons of science in this western world, may have additional reason to remember the name of FRANKLIN with gratitude and pleasure.

Signed in the name and by order of the faculty, by

JOHN EWING, Provost.

Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1785.

Dr. Franklin's Answer.

I AM greatly obliged, gentlemen, by your kind congratulations on my safe arrival.

It gives me extreme pleasure to find, that seminaries of learning are increasing in America, and particularly that the university over which you preside, continues to flourish. My best wishes will always attend it.

The instruction of youth is one of those employments which to the public are most useful; it ought therefore to be esteemed among the most honorable; its successful exercise does not, however, always meet with the reward it merits, except in the satisfaction of having contributed to the forming of virtuous and able men for the service of their country.

The constitutional society of Philadelphia, the justices of the city, the officers of the militia, and several other bodies, presented to Dr. Franklin, on his arrival, addresses of congratulation nearly similar; and shortly after he received the following letter from that illustrious character, general Washington:

DEAR SIR,

Mount Vernon, Sept. 25, 1785.

AMID the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it—for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation—permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them; and to assure you, that as no one entertains more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity or with greater pleasure than I do on the occasion.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

The Hon. Dr. Franklin.

G. WASHINGTON.

Soon after Dr. Franklin's arrival in Philadelphia, he was chosen a member of the supreme executive council of that city; and shortly after was elected president of the state of Pennsylvania; which honorable situation he filled the whole time allowed by the constitution, viz. three successive years.

When a general convention of the states was summoned to meet in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpose of giving more energy to the government of the Union, by revising and amending the articles of confederation, Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate from the state of Pennsylvania to that convention; as such he signed the new constitution agreed on for the United States, and gave it his qualified approbation.

The following *Notes and Remarks*, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, together with the substance of some of his *Speeches* in this convention, will be found of considerable interest; and on this account, as well as to show his general ideas on government, are here inserted.

Proposal for Consideration.

June 26, 1787.

THAT the legislatures of the several states shall choose and send an equal number of delegates, namely _____ who are to compose the second branch of the general legislature.

That in all cases or questions wherein the sovereignties of the individual states may be affected, or whereby their authority over their own citizens may be diminished, or the authority of the general government within the several states augmented, each state shall have *equal* suffrage.

That in the appointment of all civil officers of the *general government*, in the election of whom the second branch may by the constitution have part, each state shall have *equal* suffrage.

That in fixing the salaries of such officers, in all allowances for public services, and generally in all appropriations and dispositions of money to be drawn out of the general treasury, and in all laws for supplying the treasury, the delegates of the several states shall have suffrage *in proportion to the sums their respective states had actually contributed to that treasury from their taxes or internal excheises.*

That in case the general duties should be laid by impost on goods imported, a liberal estimation shall be made of the amount of such impost paid in the price of the commodities by those states that import but little, and a proportionate addition shall be allowed of suffrage to such states, and an equal diminution of the suffrage of the states importing.

REMARKS.

THE steady course of public measures is most probably to be expected from a number.

A single person's measures may be good: the successor often differs in opinion on those measures, and adopts others: often is ambitious of distinguishing himself, by opposing them, and offering new projects: one is peaceably disposed; another may be fond of war, &c. Hence foreign states can never have that confidence in the treaties or friendship of such a government, as in that which is conducted by a number.

The single head may be sick; who is to conduct the public affairs in that case? When he dies, who are to conduct till a new election? If a council, why not continue them? Shall we not be harrassed with factions for the election of successors? become, like Poland, weak from our dissensions.

Consider the present distracted condition of Holland: they had at first a Statholder, the Prince of Orange, a man of undoubted and great merit: they found some inconveniences, however, in the extent of powers annexed to that office, and exercised by a single person. On his death, they

resumed and divided those powers among the states and cities; but there has been a constant struggle since between that family and the nation. In the last century the then prince of Orange found means to inflame the populace against their magistrates, excite a general insurrection, in which an excellent minister, *Dewit*, was murdered, all the old magistrates displaced, and the stadtholder re-invested with all the former powers. In this century the father of the present stadtholder, having married a British princess, did, by exciting another insurrection, force from the nation a decree, that the stadtholdership should be thenceforth hereditary in his family. And now his son, being suspected of having favored England in the late war, and thereby lost the confidence of the nation, is forming an internal faction to support his power, and reinstate his favorite the duke of Brunswick; and he holds up his family alliances with England and Prussia to terrify opposition. It was this conduct of the stadtholder which induced the states to recur to the protection of France, and put their troops under a French, rather than the stadtholder's German general, the duke of Brunswick: and this is the source of all the present disorders in Holland, which if the stadtholder has abilities equal to his inclinations, will, probably, after a ruinous and bloody civil war, end in establishing an hereditary monarchy in his family.

QUERIES and REMARKS on a Paper, entitled "*Hints for the Members of Convention.*" No. II. in the Federal Gazette of Tuesday, Nov. 3, 1789.

HINT I. OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

"Your executive should consist of a single person."

ON this I would ask, is he to have no council? How is he to be informed of the state and circumstances of the different counties, their wants, their abilities, their dispositions, and the characters of the principal people, respecting their integrity, capacities, and qualifications for offices? Does not the present construction of our executive provide well for these particulars? And during the number of years it has existed, have its errors or failures in answering the end of its appointment been more or greater than might have been expected from a single person?

"But an individual is more easily watched and controlled than any greater number."

On this I would ask, who is to watch and control him? And by what means is he to be controlled? Will not those means, whatever they are, and in whatever body vested, be subject to the same inconveniences of expense, delay, obstruction of good intentions, &c., which are objected to the present executive?

2. THE DURATION OF THE APPOINTMENT.

"This should be governed by the following principles, the independency of the magistrate, and the stability of his administration: neither of which can be secured but by putting both beyond the reach of every annual gust of folly and of faction."

On this it may be asked, ought it not also to be put beyond the reach of every triennial, quinquennial, or septennial gust of folly and faction, and in short beyond the reach of folly and of faction at any period whatever? Does not this reasoning aim at establishing a monarchy at least for life, like that of Poland? or, to prevent the inconveniences such as that kingdom is subject to in a new election on every decease? Are the free-men of Pennsylvania convinced from a view of the history of such governments, that it will be for their advantage to submit themselves to a government of such construction?

3. ON THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

"A plural legislature is as necessary to good government as a single executive. It is not enough that your legislature should be numerous, it should also be divided. Numbers alone are not a sufficient barrier against the impulses of passion, the combinations of interest, the intrigues of faction, the haste of folly, or the spirit of encroachment. One division should watch over and control the other; supply its wants, correct its blunders, and cross its designs, should they be criminal or erroneous. Wisdom is the specific quality of the legislature, grows out of the number of the body, and is made up of the portions of sense and knowledge which each member brings to it."

On this it may be asked, may not the wisdom brought to the legislature by each member be as effectual a barrier against the impulses of passion, &c., when the members are united in one body as when they are divided? If one part of the legislature may control the operations of the other, may not the impulses of passion, the combinations of interest, the intrigues of faction, the haste of folly, or the spirit of encroachment in one of those bodies obstruct the good proposed by the other, and frustrate its advantages to the public? Have we not experienced in this state, when a province under the government of the proprietors, the mischiefs of a second branch existing in the proprietary family countenanced and aided by an aristocratic counsel? How many delays and what great expenses were occasioned in carrying on the public business; and what a train of mischiefs, even to the preventing of the defence of the province during several years, when distressed by an Indian war, by the iniquitous demand that the proprietary property should be exempt from taxation! The wisdom of a few members in one single legislative body, may it not frequently stifle bad motions in their infancy, and so prevent their being adopted? whereas if those wise men, in case of a double legislature, should happen to be in that branch wherein the motion did not

arise, may it not, after being adopted by the other, occasion long disputes and contentions between the two bodies, expensive to the public, obstructing the public business, and promoting factions among the people, many tempers naturally adhering obstinately to measures they have once publicly adopted? Have we not seen in one of our neighboring states, a bad measure adopted by one branch of the legislature, for want of the assistance of some more intelligent members who had been packed into the other, occasion many debates, conducted with much asperity, which could not be settled but by an expensive general appeal to the public? And have we not seen in another neighboring state, a similar difference between the two branches, occasioning long debates and contentions, whereby the state was prevented for many months enjoying the advantage of having senators in the congress of the United States? And has our present legislative in one assembly committed any errors of importance, which they have not remedied, or may not easily remedy; more easily probably than if divided into two branches? And if the wisdom brought by the members to the assembly is divided into two branches, may it not be too weak in each to support a good measure or obstruct a bad one? The division of the legislature into two or three branches in England, was it the product of wisdom, or the effect of necessity, arising from the pre-existing prevalence of an odious feudal system? which government, notwithstanding this division, is now become, in fact, an absolute monarchy; since the KING, by bribing the representatives with the people's money, carries, by his ministers, all the measures that please him; which is equivalent to governing without a parliament, and renders the machine of government much more complex and expensive, and from its being more complex more easily put out of order. Has not the famous political fable of the snake with two heads and one body, some useful instruction contained in it? She was going to a brook to drink, and in her way was to pass through a hedge, a twig of which opposed her direct course; one head chose to go on the right side of the twig, the other on the left: so that time was spent in the contest, and before the decision was completed, the poor snake died with thirst.

“Hence it is that the two branches should be elected by persons differently qualified; and in short, that, as far as possible, they should be made to represent different interests. Under this reasoning I would establish a legislature of two houses. The upper should represent the property; the lower, the population of the state. The upper should be chosen by freemen possessing in lands and houses one thousand pounds; the lower, by all such as had resided four years in the country, and paid taxes. The first should be chosen for four, the last for two years. They should be in authority co-equal.”

Several questions may arise upon this proposition. 1st. What is the proportion of freemen possessing lands and houses of one thousand pounds

value, compared to that of freemen whose possessions are inferior? Are they as one to ten? Are they even as one to twenty? I should doubt whether they are as one to fifty. If this minority is to choose a body expressly to control that which is to be chosen by the great majority of the freemen, what have this great majority done to forfeit so great a portion of their right in elections? Why is this power of control, contrary to the spirit of all democracies, to be vested in a minority, instead of a majority? Then is it intended, or is it not, that the rich should have a vote in the choice of members for the lower house, while those of inferior property are deprived of the right of voting for members of the upper house? And why should the upper house, chosen by a minority, have equal power with the lower chosen by a majority? Is it supposed that wisdom is the necessary concomitant of riches, and that one man worth a thousand pounds must have as much wisdom as twenty who have each only nine hundred and ninety-nine; and why is property to be represented at all?—Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society; each individual would bring into the stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other; we know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine, he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbors thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provision, it being one of their maxims, that hunting is free for all: the accumulation therefore of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society, in the execution of its laws. Private property therefore is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions therefore to the public exigencies are not to be considered as conferring a benefit on the public, entitling the contributors to the distinctions of honor and power; but as the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt. The combinations of civil society are not like those of a set of merchants who club their property in different proportions for building and freighting a ship, and may therefore have some right to vote in the disposition of the voyage in a greater or less degree, according to their respective contributions: but the important ends of civil society, and the personal securities of life and liberty, there remain the same in every member of the society; and the poorest continues to have an equal claim to them with the most opulent, whatever difference time, chance, or industry may occasion in their circumstances. On these considerations I am sorry to see the signs this paper I have been considering affords, of a disposition among some of our people to commence an aristocracy, by giving the rich a predominancy in government, a choice peculiar to themselves in one half the legislature to be proudly called the upper house, and the

other branch chosen by the majority of the people degraded by the denomination of the *LOWER*, and giving to this *upper house* a permanency of four years, and but two to the *lower*. I hope therefore that our representatives in the convention will not hastily go into these innovations, but take the advice of the Prophet,—“*Stand in the old ways, view the antient paths, consider them well, and be not among those that are given to change.*”

*Speech of Dr. Franklin in the Convention on the subject
of Salaries.*

SIR,

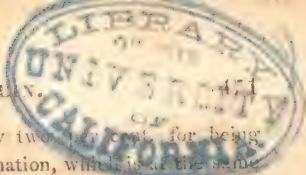
IT is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan, for which we are so much obliged to the honorable gentleman who laid it before us. From its first reading I have borne a good will to it, and in general wished it success. In this particular of salaries to the executive branch, I happen to differ; and as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty that I hazard it. The committee will judge of my reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniencies in the appointment of salaries, I see none in refusing them, but on the contrary great advantages.

Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice*; the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men, a post of *honor* that shall at the same time be a place of *profit*, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is, that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true source of all those factions which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace.

And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable pre-eminence, through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your government, and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation; for their vanquished competitors of the same spirit and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavoring to distress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people.

Besides these evils, sir, though we may set out in the beginning with moderate salaries, we shall find that such will not be of long continuance. Reasons will never be wanting for proposed augmentations; and there will always be a party for giving more to the rulers, that the rulers may be able in return to give more to them. Hence, as all history informs us, there has been in every state and kingdom, a constant kind of warfare between the governing and the governed; the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. And this has alone occasioned great convulsions, actual civil wars, ending either in dethroning of the princes or enslaving of the people. Generally, indeed, the ruling power carries its point, and we see the revenue of princes constantly increasing, and we see that they are never satisfied, but always in want of more. The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partizans and pay the troops that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king in a hundred who would not if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh,—get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants for ever. It will be said, that we do not propose to establish kings.—I know it.—But there is a natural inclination in mankind to kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from aristocratic domination. They had rather have one tyrant than five hundred. It gives more of the appearance of equality among citizens; and that they like. I am apprehensive, therefore,—perhaps too apprehensive,—that the government of these states, may in future times end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe, I think, may be long delayed, if in our proposed system we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our posts of honor places of profit. If we do, I fear, that though we employ at first a number, and not a single person, the number will in time be set aside; it will only nourish the fœtus of a king, (as the respectable gentleman from Virginia very aptly expressed it), and a king will the sooner be set over us.

It may be imagined by some that this is an Utopian idea, and that we can never find men to serve us in the executive department, without paying them well for their services. I conceive this to be a mistake. Some existing facts present themselves to me, which incline me to a contrary opinion. The high sheriff of a county in England is an honorable office, but not a profitable one. It is rather expensive, and therefore not sought for. But yet it is executed, and well executed, usually by some of the principal gentlemen of the county. In France, the office of counsellor, or member of their judiciary parliaments, is more honorable. It is therefore purchased at a high price: there are indeed fees on law proceedings, which are divided among them, but these fees do not amount to more than three per cent on the sum paid for the place. Therefore as legal interest is



there at five per cent., they in fact pay two per cent. for being allowed to do the judiciary business of the nation, which is at the same time entirely exempt from the burthen of paying them any salaries for their services. I do not however mean to recommend this as an eligible mode for our judiciary department. I only bring the instance to shew that the pleasure of doing good and serving their country, and the respect such conduct entitles them to, are sufficient motives with some minds to give up a great portion of their time to the public, without the mean inducement of pecuniary satisfaction.

Another instance is that of a respectable society, who have made the experiment, and practised it with success, now more than a hundred years.—I mean the Quakers. It is an established rule with them that they are not to go to law, but in their controversies they must apply to their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Committees of these sit with patience to hear the parties, and spend much time in composing their differences. In doing this, they are supported by a sense of duty; and the respect paid to usefulness. It is honorable to be so employed, but it was never made profitable by salaries, fees, or perquisites. And indeed in all cases of public service, the less the profit the greater the honor.

To bring the matter nearer home, have we not seen the greatest and most important of our offices, that of general of our armies, executed for eight years together, without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by any other praise; and this through fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? and shall we doubt finding three or four men in all the United States, with public spirit enough to bear sitting in peaceful council, for perhaps an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake and execute, well and faithfully, the office in question.

Sir, the saving of the salaries, that may at first be proposed, is not an object with me. The subsequent mischiefs of proposing them are what I apprehend. And therefore it is that I move the amendment. If it is not seconded or accepted, I must be contented with the satisfaction of having delivered my opinion frankly, and done my duty.

Speech of Dr. Franklin in a Committee of the Convention, on the Proportion of Representation and Votes.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

IT has given me great pleasure to observe that till this point, the *Proportion of Representation*, came before us, our debates were carried on with great coolness and temper. If any thing of a contrary kind has on this occasion appeared, I hope it will not be repeated; for we are

sent hither to *consult*, not to *contend*, with each other; and declarations of a fixed opinion and of determined resolutions never to change it, neither enlighten nor convince us: positiveness and warmth on one side naturally beget their like on the other; and tend to create and augment discord, and division, in a great concern, wherein harmony and union are extremely necessary, to give weight to our councils, and render them effectual in promoting and securing the common good.

I must own that I was originally of opinion it would be better if every member of congress, or our national council, were to consider himself rather as a representative of the whole, than as an agent for the interests of a particular state, in which case the proportion of members for each state would be of less consequence, and it would not be very material whether they voted by states or individually. But as I find this is not to be expected, I now think the number of representatives should bear some proportion to the number of the represented, and that the decisions should be by the majority of members, not by the majority of states. This is objected to from an apprehension that the greater states would then swallow up the smaller. I do not at present clearly see what advantage the greater states could propose to themselves, by swallowing the smaller, and therefore do not apprehend they would attempt it. I recollect that in the beginning of this century, when the union was proposed of the two kingdoms, England and Scotland, the Scotch patriots were full of fears, that unless they had an equal number of representatives in parliament, they should be ruined by the superiority of the English. They finally agreed, however, that the different proportions of importance in the union, of the two nations, should be attended to; whereby they were to have only forty members in the house of commons, and only sixteen of their peers were to sit in the house of lords; a very great inferiority of numbers! And yet to this day I do not recollect that any thing has been done in the parliament of Great Britain to the prejudice of Scotland; and whoever looks over the lists of public officers civil and military of that nation, will find, I believe, that the North Britons enjoy at least their full proportion of emolument.

But, sir, in the present mode of voting by states, it is equally in the power of the lesser states to swallow up the greater; and this is mathematically demonstrable. Suppose, for example, that seven smaller states had each three members in the house, and the six larger to have, one with another, six members. And that upon a question, two members of each smaller state should be in the affirmative, and one in the negative, they will make

Affirmatives	14	Negatives	7
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And that all the larger states should be unani-

mously in the negative, they would make	Negatives	36
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In all	43
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It is then apparent, that the 14 carry the question against the 49, and the minority overpowers the majority, contrary to the common practice of assemblies in all countries and ages.

The greater states, sir, are naturally as unwilling to have their property left in the disposition of the smaller, as the smaller are to leave theirs in the disposition of the greater. An honorable gentleman has, to avoid this difficulty, hinted a proposition of equalizing the states. It appears to me an equitable one; and I should, for my own part, not be against such a measure, if it might be found practicable. Formerly, indeed, when almost every province had a different constitution, some with greater, others with fewer privileges, it was of importance to the borderers, when their boundaries were contested, whether by running the division lines they were placed on one side or the other. At present, when such differences are done away, it is less material. The interest of a state is made up of the interests of its individual members. If they are not injured, the state is not injured. Small states are more easily, well, and happily governed than large ones. If, therefore, in such an equal division, it should be found necessary to diminish Pennsylvania, I should not be averse to the giving a part of it to New Jersey, and another to Delaware; but as there would probably be considerable difficulties in adjusting such a division; and however equally made at first, it would be continually varying by the augmentation of inhabitants in some states, and their more fixed proportion in others; and thence frequent occasion for new divisions; I beg leave to propose for the consideration of the committee another mode, which appears to me to be as equitable, more easily carried into practice, and more permanent in its nature.

Let the weakest state say what proportion of money or force it is able and willing to furnish for the general purposes of the union.

Let all the others oblige themselves to furnish each an equal proportion.

The whole of these joint supplies to be absolutely in the disposition of congress.

The congress in this case to be composed of an equal number of delegates from each state:

And their decisions to be by the majority of individual members voting.

If these joint and equal supplies should on particular occasions not be sufficient, let congress make requisitions on the richer and more powerful states for further aids, to be voluntarily afforded; so leaving each state the right of considering the necessity and utility of the aid desired, and of giving more or less as it should be found proper.

This mode is not new; it was formerly practised with success by the British government, with respect to Ireland and the colonies. We sometimes gave even more than they expected or thought just to accept; and in the last war, carried on while we were united, they gave us back in

five years a million sterling. We should probably have continued such voluntary contributions, whenever the occasion appeared to require them for the common good of the empire. It was not till they chose to force us, and to deprive us of the merit and pleasure of voluntary contributions, that we refused and resisted. Those contributions, however, were to be disposed of at the pleasure of a government in which we had no representative. I am therefore persuaded that they will not be refused to one in which the representation shall be equal.

My learned colleague has already mentioned, that the present mode of voting by states, was submitted to originally by congress, under a conviction of its impropriety, inequality, and injustice. This appears in the words of their resolution. It is of Sept. 6, 1774. The words are,

“Resolved, That in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote: the congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure, materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.”

Dr. Franklin's Motion for Prayers in the Convention.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is methinks a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to antient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how as it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings!—In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection! Our prayers, sir, were heard;—and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend?—or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance—I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live,

the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *That God governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?—We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that “except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.” I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move,

That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

[Note by Dr. Franklin.] “*The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!*”

Dr. Franklin’s private sentiments with respect to this new constitution, may be gathered from the following extracts from letters he wrote about this time to some of his friends.

To M. Le Veilliard, at Passy.

Philadelphia, Feb. 17th, 1788.

* * * * *

——“I SENT you with my last a copy of the new constitution proposed for the United States, by the late general convention. I sent one also to our excellent friend the duke de la Rochefoucault.

I attended the business of the convention faithfully for four months. Inclosed you have the last speech I made in it.^f Six states have already adopted the constitution, and there is now little doubt of its being accepted by a sufficient number to carry it into execution, if not immediately by the whole. —It has however met with great opposition in some of the

^f See Vol. V. p. 432, of this Edition.

states; for we are at present a nation of politicians. And though there is a general dread of giving too much *power* to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from the little obedience in the *governed*."

* * * * *

To the same.

April 22, 1788.

* * * * *

—— "It is very possible, as you suppose, that all the articles of the proposed new government will not remain unchanged after the first meeting of congress. I am of opinion with you, that the *two* chambers were not necessary, and I disliked some other articles that are in, and wished for some that are not in, the proposed plan: I nevertheless hope it may be adopted, though I shall have nothing to do with the execution of it, being determined to quit all public business with my present employment. At 83 one certainly has a right to *ambition* repose."

* * * * *

To the same.

Philadelphia, June 8, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED a few days ago your kind letter of the 3d January.

The *arrêt* in favor of the *non-catholiques* gives pleasure here, not only from its present advantages, but as it is a good step towards general toleration, and to the abolishing in time all party spirit among christians, and the mischiefs that have so long attended it. Thank God, the world is growing wiser and wiser; and as by degrees men are convinced of the folly of wars for religion, for dominion, or for commerce, they will be happier and happier.

Eight states have now agreed to the proposed new constitution; there remain five who have not yet discussed it; their

§ President of the state of Pennsylvania.

appointed times of meeting not being yet arrived. Two are to meet this month, the rest later. One more agreeing, it will be carried into execution. Probably some will not agree at present, but time may bring them in; so that we have little doubt of its becoming general, perhaps with some corrections. As to your friend's taking a share in the management of it, his age and infirmities render him unfit for the business, as the business would be for him. After the expiration of his presidentship, which will now be in a few months, he is *determined* to engage no more in public affairs, even if required; but his countrymen will be too reasonable to require it. You are not so considerate; you are an hard task-master. You insist on his writing *his life*, already a long work, and at the same time would have him continually employed in augmenting the subject, while the time shortens, in which the work is to be executed. General Washington is the man that all our eyes are fixed on for *president*, and what little influence I may have, is devoted to him.

B. FRANKLIN,

* * * * *

To the Duke de la Rochefoucault.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1788.

“OUR public affairs begin to wear a more quiet aspect. The disputes about the faults of the new constitution are subsided. The first congress will probably mend the principal ones, and future congresses the rest. That which you mentioned did not pass unnoticed in the convention. Many, if I remember right, were for making the president incapable of being chosen after the first four years; but the majority were for leaving the electors free to choose whom they pleased; and it was alleged that such incapacity might tend to make the president less attentive to the duties of his office, and to the interests of the people, than he would be if a second choice depended on their good opinion of him. We are *making experiments* in politics; what knowledge we shall gain by them

will be more certain, though perhaps we may hazard too much in *that* mode of acquiring it."

* * * * *

To M. Le Veillard.

* * * * *

Oct. 24, 1788.

"OUR affairs mend daily, and are getting into good order very fast. Never was any measure so thoroughly discussed as our proposed new constitution. Many objections were made to it in the public papers, and answers to those objections. Much party heat there was, and some violent personal abuse. I kept out of the dispute, and wrote only one little paper on the occasion, which I inclose.^a You seem to be too apprehensive about our presidents being perpetual. Neither he nor we have any such intentions: of what danger there may be of such an event we are all aware, and shall take care effectually to prevent it. The choice is from four years to five years; the appointments will be small: thus we may change our president if we do not like his conduct, and he will have less inducement to struggle for a new election. As to the *two* chambers I am of your opinion, that *one alone* would be better;ⁱ but, my dear friend, nothing in human affairs and schemes is perfect; and perhaps this is the case of our opinions.

* * * * *

To the Honorable Charles Carrol, Esq.

Member of Congress. New York.

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, May 25, 1789.*

I AM glad to see by the papers that our grand machine has at length begun to work. I pray God to bless and guide its operations. If any form of government is capable of mak-

^a A comparison between the antient Jews and Antifederalists, see Vol. V. p. 428.

ⁱ Some time after the date of this letter, when alterations were meditated in the constitution of *Pennsylvania*, Dr. Franklin wrote a paper in which this opinion is strongly advocated: and his principles of government are there further elucidated. See page 466 of this volume.

ing a nation happy, ours I think bids fair now for producing that effect. But after all, much depends upon the people who are to be governed. We have been guarding against an evil that old states are most liable to, *excess of power* in the rulers; but our present danger seems to be *defect of obedience* in the subjects. There is hope, however, from the enlightened state of this age and country, we may guard effectually against that evil as well as the rest.

My grandson, William Temple Franklin, will have the honor of presenting this line; he accompanied me to France, and remained with me during my mission: I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, and that you would believe me, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Dr. Franklin having served the full period limited by the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania for the continuance in office of its presidents; and his infirmities and desire of repose increasing, in Oct. 1788 he retired wholly from public affairs; and thus noticed the circumstance, in a letter to his friend the duke de la Rochefoucault.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1788.

* * * * *

——“ HAVING now finished my turn of being president, and promising myself to engage no more in public business, I hope to enjoy the small remains of life that are allowed me, in the repose I have so long wished for. I purpose to employ it in completing the personal history you mention.^k It is now brought down to my fiftieth year.^l What is to follow will be of more important transactions: but it seems to me what is done will be of more general use to young readers, exemplifying strongly the effects of *prudent* and *imprudent* conduct in the commencement of a life of business.”

* * * * *

^k The present Memoirs of his Life.

^l Close of Part II. It is to be lamented the subsequent state of his health did not enable him to continue it further.

Though Dr. Franklin had every reason to be well satisfied with the reception he met on his return to the United States, from his *fellow-citizens*; he was by no means so with the *general government*. This he fully and feelingly expresses in a confidential letter to his particular and worthy friend Charles Thomson, esq., secretary of congress, of which the following is a copy.

Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1788.

DEAR OLD FRIEND,

INCLOSED I send a letter to the president of congress^m for the time being, which, if you find nothing improper in it, or that in regard to me you could wish changed or amended, I would request you to present. I rely much on your friendly counsel, as you must be better acquainted with persons and circumstances than I am: and I suppose there will be time enough before the new congress is formed to make any alterations you may advise, though if presented at all it should be to the old one.

In the copy of my letter to Mr. Barclay you may observe, that mention is made of some “considerable articles which I have not charged in my accounts with congress, but on which I should expect from their equity some consideration.” That you may have some information what those articles are, I inclose also a “*Sketch of my services to the United States*,” wherein you will find mention of the *extra services* I performed that do not appertain to the office of plenipotentiary, viz. as judge of admiralty, as consul before the arrival of Mr. Barclay, as banker in examining and accepting the multitude of bills of exchange, and as secretary for several years, none being sent to me, though other ministers were allowed such assistance.

I must own, I did hope, that as it is customary in Europe to make some liberal provision for ministers when they return home from foreign service, the congress would at least have been kind enough to have shown their approbation of

^m This letter is missing.

my conduct by a grant of a small tract of land in their western country, which might have been of use and some honor to my posterity. And I cannot but still think they will do something of the kind for me whenever they shall be pleased to take my services into consideration, as I see by their minutes that they have allowed Mr. Lee handsomely for his services in England, before his appointment to France, in which services I and Mr. Bollan co-operated with him, but have had no such allowance: and since his return, he has been very properly rewarded with a good place, as well as my friend Mr. Jay: though these are trifling compensations in comparison with what was granted by the king to M. Gerard on his return from America. But how different is what has happened to me. On my return from England in 1775, the congress bestowed on me the office of postmaster-general, for which I was very thankful. It was indeed an office I had some kind of right to, as having previously greatly enlarged the revenue of the post, by the regulations I had contrived and established, while I possessed it under the crown. When I was sent to France, I left it in the hands of my son-in-law, who was to act as my deputy. But soon after my departure it was taken from me and given to Mr. Hazard. When the English ministry formerly thought fit to deprive me of the office, they left me, however, the privilege of receiving and sending my letters free of postage, which is the usage when a postmaster is not displaced for misconduct in the office: but in America, I have ever since had the postage demanded of me, which since my return from France has amounted to above fifty pounds, much of it occasioned by my having acted as minister there.

When I took my grandson, William Temple Franklin, with me to France, I purposed, after giving him the French language, to educate him in the study and practice of the law. But by the repeated expectations given me of a secretary, and constant disappointments, I was induced, and indeed obliged, to retain him with me, to assist in the secreta-

ry's office, which disappointments continued till my return, by which time, so many years of the opportunity of his studying the law were lost, and his habits of life became so different, that it appeared no longer advisable; and I then considering him as brought up in the diplomatic line, and well qualified by his knowledge in that branch for the employ of a secretary at least (in which opinion I was not alone, for three of my colleagues, without the smallest solicitation from me, chose him secretary of the negotiation for treaties, which they had been empowered to do) I took the liberty of recommending him to the congress for their protection. This was the only favor I ever asked of them: and the only answer I received was, a resolution superceding him, and appointing colonel Humphreys in his place; a gentleman, who though he might have indeed a good deal of military merit, certainly had none in the diplomatic line, and had neither the French language, nor the experience, nor the address proper to qualify him for such an employment.

This is all to yourself only, as a private friend: for I have not, nor ever shall, make any public complaint: and even if I could have foreseen such unkind treatment from congress, their refusing me thanks, would not in the least have abated my zeal for the cause, and ardor in support of it. I know something of the nature of such changeable assemblies, and how little successors know of the services that have been rendered to the corps, before their admission, or feel themselves obliged by such services; and what effect in obliterating a sense of them, during the absence of the servant in a distant country, the artful and reiterated malevolent insinuations of one or two envious and malicious persons may have on the minds of members, even of the most equitable, candid, and honorable dispositions; and therefore, I will pass these reflections into oblivion.

My good friend, excuse, if you can, the trouble of this letter; and if the reproach thrown on republics, that *they are*

apt to be ungrateful,^a should ever unfortunately be verified, with respect to *your* services, remember that you have a right to unbosom yourself in communicating your griefs to your antient friend, and most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Charles Thomson, Esq., Secretary to Congress.

(Inclosed in the foregoing).

SKETCH OF THE SERVICES OF B. FRANKLIN TO THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In England,

He combated the Stamp Act, and his writings in the papers against it, with his examination in parliament, were thought to have contributed much to its repeal.

He opposed the Duty Act, and though he could not prevent its passing, he obtained of Mr. Townshend an omission of several articles, particularly salt.

In the subsequent difference he wrote and published many papers, refuting the claim of parliament to tax the colonies.

He opposed all the oppressive acts.

He had two secret negotiations with the ministers for their repeal, of which he has written a narrative. In this he offered payment for the destroyed tea, at his own risque, in case they were repealed.

He was joined with Messrs. Bolland and Lee in all the applications to government for that purpose.—Printed several pamphlets at his own considerable expense against the then measures of government, whereby he rendered himself obnoxious, was disgraced before the privy council, deprived of a place in the post office of 300*l.* sterling a year, and obliged to resign his agencies, viz.

of Pennsylvania	500 <i>l.</i>
of Massachusetts	400
of New Jersey	100
of Georgia	200
	<hr/>
	1200
	<hr/>

In the whole 1500*l.* sterling per annum.

^a "*Ploravere suis non respondere favorem*

Speratum meritis." Hor. lib. ii. ep. 1.

[Their toils and services could hardly raise

The slight return of gratitude or praise.]

is applicable not only to the heroes particularly specified, but to the valiant and wise in other ages and countries.

Orders were sent to the king's governors not to sign any warrants on the treasury for the orders of his salaries; and though he was not actually dismissed by the colonies that employed him, yet thinking the known malice of the court against him, rendered him less likely than others to manage their affairs to their advantage, he judged it to be his duty to withdraw from their service, and leave it open for less exceptionable persons, which saved them the necessity of removing him.

Returning to America, he encouraged the revolution; was appointed chairman of the committee of safety, where he projected the *cheveaux de frize* for securing Philadelphia, then the residence of congress.

Was sent by congress to head-quarters near Boston with Messrs. Harrison and Lynch in 1775, to settle some affairs with the northern governments and general Washington.

In the Spring of 1776, was sent to Canada with Messrs. Chase and Carol, passing the Lakes while they were not yet free from ice.—In Canada was with his colleagues instrumental in redressing sundry grievances, and thereby reconciling the people more to our cause. He there advanced to general Arnold and other servants of congress, then in extreme necessity, 353*l.* in gold out of his own pocket, on the credit of congress, which was of great service at that juncture, in procuring provisions for our army.

Being at the time he was ordered on this service, upwards of seventy years of age, he suffered in his health by the hardships of this journey; lodging in the woods, &c. in so inclement a season; but being recovered, the congress in the same year ordered him to France. Before his departure, he put all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, into their hands; which demonstrating his confidence, encouraged others to lend their money in support of the cause.

He made no bargain for appointments, but was promised by a vote, the *net* salary of 500*l.* sterling per annum, his expenses paid, and to be assisted by a secretary, who was to have 1000*l.* per annum. to include all contingencies.

When the Pennsylvania assembly sent him to England in 1764 on the same salary, they allowed him one year's advance for his passage, and in consideration of the prejudice to his private affairs that must be occasioned by his sudden departure and absence. He has had no such allowance from congress, was badly accomodated in a miserable vessel, improper for those northern seas, (and which actually foundered in her return) was badly fed, so that on his arrival, he had scarce strength to stand.

His services to the states as commissioner, and afterwards minister plenipotentiary, are known to congress, as may appear in his correspondence. His *extra services* may not be so well known, and therefore may be here mentioned. No secretary ever arriving, the business was in part before, and entirely when the other commissioners left him, executed by

himself, with the help of his grandson, who at first was only allowed clothes, board, and lodging; and afterwards a salary never exceeding 300*l.* a-year (except while he served as secretary to the commissioners for peace) by which difference in salary continued many years the congress saved, if they accept it, 700*l.* sterling a-year.

He served as *Consul* entirely several years, till the arrival of Mr. Barclay, and even after, as that gentleman was obliged to be much and long absent in Holland, Flanders, and England; during which absence what business of the kind occurred, still came to Mr. F.

He served, though without any special commission for the purpose, as a *Judge of Admiralty*; for the congress having sent him a quantity of blank commissions for privateers, he granted them to cruisers fitted out in the ports of France, some of them manned by old smugglers, who knew every creek on the coast of England, and running all round the island, distressed the British coasting trade exceedingly, and raised their general insurance. One of those privateers alone, the *Black Prince*, took in one year 75 sail! All the papers taken in each prize brought in, were, in virtue of an order of council, sent up to Mr. F., who was to examine them, judge of the legality of the capture, and write to the admiralty of the port, that he found the prize good, and that the sale might be permitted. These papers, which are very voluminous he has to produce.

He served also as *Merchant* to make purchases, and direct the shipping of stores to a very great value, for which he has charged no commission.

But the part of his service which was the most fatiguing and confining, was that of receiving and accepting, after a due and necessary examination, the bills of exchange drawn by congress for interest money; to the amount of *two millions and a half of livres annually*; multitudes of the bills very small, each of which, the smallest, gave as much trouble in examining, as the largest. And this careful examination was found absolutely necessary from the constant frauds attempted by presenting *seconds* and *thirds* for payment, after the *firsts* had been discharged. As these bills were arriving more or less by every ship and every post, they required constant attendance. Mr. F. could make no journey for exercise as had been annually his custom, and the confinement brought on a malady that is likely to afflict him while he lives.

In short, though he has always been an active man, he never went through so much business during eight years, in any part of his life, as during those of his residence in France; which however he did not decline till he saw peace happily made, and found himself in the 80th year of his age; when, if ever, a man has some right to expect repose.

Some time after Dr. Franklin's return to Philadelphia, a society for *Political Inquiries* was formed in that city, of which he was chosen president; and on account of his bodily

infirmities the meetings were held at his own house. Two or three of the essays read in this society were published; its existence, however, was not of long continuance.

Two other societies were also established in Philadelphia about this period, founded on the principles of the most liberal and refined humanity: one “*for alleviating the miseries of public prisons,*” and the other, “*for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race.*”—Of each of these Dr. Franklin was president. He had as early as the year 1772, strongly expressed his abhorrence of the traffic in slaves, as appears by his letter of the 22d August in that year, to Mr. Anthony Benezett, inserted in the 1st Part of his *Private Correspondence*.”

The following ADDRESS with a PLAN^o of the latter society are supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Franklin.

An Address to the Public, from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage.

IT is with peculiar satisfaction, we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavors have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labors, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan, and do, therefore, earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all, who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body, do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little

^o For the plan see vol. IV. p. 248, of this edition.

Influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless—perhaps worn out by extreme labor, age, and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those, who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, to promote in them habits of industry, to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances, and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life; these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow-creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Peinberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the society,

B. FRANKLIN, President.

Philadelphia, 9th of November, 1789.

The labors of both these societies have been crowned with great success, and they continue to prosecute with unwearied diligence the laudable designs for which they were established.

According to Dr. Stuber's account, "Dr. Franklin's name, as president of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the house of representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the constitution in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act. In the debates to which this memorial gave rise, several attempts were made to justify the trade. In the Federal Gazette of March 25th, 1790, there appeared an essay, signed HISTORICUS, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a speech, said to have been delivered in the

Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or Purists, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favor of negro slavery, are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans. It affords, at the same time, a demonstration of the futility of the arguments in defence of the slave trade, and of the strength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life. It furnished, too, a no less convincing proof of his power of imitating the style of other times and nations, than his celebrated parable against persecution. And as the latter led many persons to search the scriptures with a view to find it, so the former caused many persons to search the book-stores and libraries, for the work from which it was said to be extracted."

This piece, of itself so ingenious, and being one of the last compositions of Dr. Franklin, (written only a few weeks previous to his demise) is inserted here.

To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.

SIR, *March 23, 1790.*

READING last night in your excellent paper the speech of Mr. Jackson in congress, against their meddling with the affair of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of the slaves, it put me in mind of a similar one made about one hundred years since, by Side Mehemed Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, *Anno 1687*. It was against granting the petition of the sect called *Erika* or *Purists*, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it, perhaps he has not seen it. If therefore some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may only show that men's interests and intellects operate and are operated on with surprising similarity in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African's speech, as translated, is as follows:

“Allah Bismillah, &c.

God is great, and Mahomed is his prophet.

“Have these *Erika* considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce; and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who in this hot climate are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labors of our city, and in our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us as Mosslemen than to these Christain dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers; this number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish and be gradually annihilated. If we then cease taking and plundering the infidel ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenue of government arising from its share of prizes be totally destroyed! And for what? to gratify the whims of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even to manumit those we have! But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the *Erika* do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their countries, they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to: they will not embrace our holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute ourselves by intermarrying with them: must we maintain them as beggars in our streets; or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? for men accustomed to slavery, will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian States, governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery,

without exception? Even England treats its sailors as slaves, for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized, and confined in ships of war, condemned not only to work but to fight, for small wages or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worse by their falling into our hands? No, they have only exchanged one slavery for another, and I may say a better: for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal souls. Those who remain at home have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home then would be sending them out of light into darkness.—I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state; but they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish a good government, and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing, and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own country, are, as I am well informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut one another's Christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If some of the religious mad bigots who now tease us with their silly petitions, have in a fit of blind zeal freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity that moved them to the action; it was from the conscious burthen of a load of sins, and a hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation.—How grossly are they mistaken to suppose slavery to be disallowed by the Koran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, "*Masters treat your slaves with kindness: slaves serve your masters with*

cheerfulness and fidelity." clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden, since it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Moslemen, who are to enjoy it of right, as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of christian slaves, the adoption of which would by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so many good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion. I have therefore no doubt, but this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers to the whim of a few *Erika*, and dismiss their petition."

The result was, as *Martin* tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution, "The doctrine that plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best *problematical*; but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore let the petition be rejected."

And it was rejected accordingly.

And since like motives are apt to produce in the minds of men like opinions and resolutions, may we not, Mr. Brown, venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for abolishing the slave trade, to say nothing of other legislatures, and the debates upon them, will have a similar conclusion.

I am, sir, your constant reader and humble servant,

HISTORICUS.

Towards the close of the year (1789) Dr. Franklin received a new and unexpected honor; that of being elected a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg.—It was communicated to him by the following handsome letter (*in English*) from the princess Daschkoff, the lady president, whom Dr. Franklin had occasionally met at Paris.

*To his Excellency Dr. Benjamin Franklin, &c. &c.
Philadelphia.*

DEAR SIR,

HAVING always supposed, and even cherished the idea, that you were a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which is at St. Petersburg, under my direction, I was greatly surprised, when reviewing the list of its members some days ago, I did not find your name in the number. I hastened therefore to acquire this honor for the academy, and you were received among its members with an unanimous applause and joy. I beg you, sir, to accept of this title, and to believe that I look upon it as an honor acquired by our academy.

I shall order the patent to be dispatched to you as soon as possible. In the mean time be assured, that it is with the greatest pleasure, that I profit of the present occasion, to give you a token of regard and veneration for your eminent character, and that I shall always recollect with pride the advantage I had to be personally noticed by you.

With a sincere consideration, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

PRINCESS OF DASCHKOFF.

St. Petersburg, the 4th of November, 1789.

During the greatest part of his life, Dr. Franklin had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of good health, and this he entirely attributed to his exemplary temperance.

In the year 1735, indeed, he had been seized with a pleurisy, which ended in a suppuration of the left lobe of the lungs, so that he was almost suffocated by the quantity of matter thrown up. But from this, as well as from another attack of the same kind, he recovered so completely, that his breathing was not in the least affected.

As he advanced in years, however, he became subject to fits of the gout, to which, in 1782, a nephritic cholic was superadded. From this time, he was also affected with the stone, as well as the gout; and for the last twelve months of

his life, these complaints almost entirely confined him to his bed.

Notwithstanding his distressed situation, neither his mental faculties nor his natural cheerfulness ever forsook him. His memory was tenacious to the very last; and he seemed to be an exception to the general rule,—that at a certain period of life, the organs which are subservient to this faculty become callous; a remarkable instance of which is, that he learned to speak French after he had attained the age of seventy!

In the beginning of April, 1790, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breast, which terminated his existence. The following account of his last illness was written by his friend and physician, Dr. Jones.

“The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities; and not unfrequently indulged himself in those *jeux d’esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

“About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his

grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it, but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months.”^p

The following account of his funeral, and the honors paid to his memory, is derived from an anonymous source, but is correct.

“All that was mortal of this great man was interred on the 21st of April, in the cemetery of Christ church, Philadelphia, in that part adjoining to Arch street, N. W. corner, in order that, if a monument should be erected over his grave, it might be seen to more advantage.

“Never was any funeral so numerously and so respectably attended in any part of the States of America. The concourse of people assembled upon this occasion was immense. All the bells in the city were muffled, and the very newspapers were published with black borders. The body was interred amidst

^p Three days previous to his decease, he desired his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, to have his bed made; “*in order that he might die in a decent manner,*” as was his expression: an idea probably suggested by an acquaintance with the custom of the antients.—Mrs. Bache having replied, that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer; he instantly rejoined, “*I hope not.*”

peals of artillery; and nothing was omitted that could display the veneration of the citizens for such an illustrious character.

“The congress ordered a general mourning for one month, throughout America; the National Assembly of France paid the same compliment for three days; and the commons of Paris, as an extraordinary tribute of honor to his memory, assisted in a body at the funeral oration, delivered by the abbé Fauchet, in the rotunda of the corn market, which was hung with black, illuminated with chandeliers, and decorated with devices analogous to the occasion.

“Dr. Smith, provost of the college of Philadelphia, and David Rittenhouse, one of its members, were selected by the Philosophical Society to prepare an eulogium to the memory of its founder; and the subscribers to the city library, who had just erected a handsome building for containing their books, left a vacant niche for a statue of their benefactor.

“This has since been placed there by the munificence of an estimable citizen of Philadelphia. It was imported from Italy; the name of the artist is Francis Lazzarini; it is composed of Carara marble, and cost 500 guineas.

“It was the first piece of sculpture of that size, which had been seen in America. Franklin is represented in a standing posture; one arm is supported by means of some books, in his right hand he holds an inverted sceptre, an emblem of anti-monarchical principles; and in his left, a scroll of paper. He is dressed in a Roman toga. The resemblance is correct; the head is a copy from the excellent bust produced by the chisel of Houdon. The following inscription is engraved on the pedestal:

THIS STATUE
OF
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
WAS PRESENTED BY
WILLIAM BINGHAM, Esq.,
1792.

“Franklin’s life,” says the anonymous writer of the foregoing, “affords one of the finest moral lessons that can be offered up, to the admiration, the applause, or the imitation of mankind.

“As a man, we have beheld him practising and inculcating the virtues of frugality, temperance, and industry.

“As a citizen, we have seen him repelling the efforts of tyranny, and ascertaining the liberty of his countrymen.

“As a legislator, he affords a bright example of a genius soaring above corruption, and continually aiming at the happiness of his constituents.

“As a politician, we survey him, on one hand, acquiring the aid of a powerful nation, by means of his skilful negotiations; and on the other, calling forth the common strength of a congress of republics, by fixing a central point to which they could all look up, and concentrating their common force, for the purposes of union, harmony, legislation, and defence.

“As a philosopher, his labors and his discoveries are calculated to advance the interests of humanity: he might, indeed, have been justly termed the friend of man, the benefactor of the universe!

“The pursuits and occupations of his early youth afford a most excellent and instructive example to the young; his middle life, to the adult; his advanced years, to the aged. From him the poor may learn to acquire wealth, and the rich to adapt it to the purposes of beneficence.

“In regard to his character, he was rather sententious than fluent; more disposed to listen, than to talk; a judicious, rather than an imposing companion. He was what, perhaps, every able man is, impatient of interruption; for he used to mention the custom of the Indians with great applause, who, after listening with a profound attention to the observations of each other, preserve a respectful silence for some minutes, before they begin their own reply.

“He was polite in his manners, and never gave a pointed contradiction to the assertions of his friends or his antagonists, but treated every argument with great calmness, and

conquered his adversaries rather by the force of reason, than assertion."

The advice of his death reached France at a period well adapted to excite great emotions: and in the National Assembly, 11th June, 1790, Mr. Mirabeau the elder, addressed the assembly as follows:

"FRANKLIN IS DEAD!"

[A profound silence reigned throughout the hall.]

"The genius, which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity!

"The sage, whom two worlds claim; the man, disputed by the history of the sciences and the history of empires, holds, most undoubtedly, an elevated rank among the human species.

"Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of courts has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief.—Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors; the representatives of free men ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.

"The congress hath ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated states, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her constitution.

"Would it not be worthy of you, fellow-legislators, to unite yourselves in this religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world?

"Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal, who for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue thunder and tyranny!

“Enlightened and free, Europe at least owes its remembrance and its regret to one of the greatest men who has ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty.

“I propose, that a decree do now pass, enacting, that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin.”

M. M. de la Rochefoucault and La Fayette immediately rose, in order to second this motion.

The Assembly adopted it, at first by acclamation; and afterwards decreed, by a large majority, amidst the plaudits of all the spectators, that on Monday the 14th of June it should go into mourning for three days; that the discourse of M. Mirabeau should be printed; and that the President should write a letter of condolence, upon the occasion, to the Congress of America.^a

The following character of Dr. Franklin, by one of his intimate friends, is so ably and accurately drawn, that we cannot refrain adding it to the foregoing.

“There is, in the character of every distinguished person, something to admire, and something to imitate. The incidents, that have marked the life of a great man, always excite

^a The Congress of the United States thus expressed their sentiments in return.

RESOLVED, *by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be communicated to the National Assembly of France, the peculiar sensibility of Congress, to the tribute paid to the memory of Benjamin Franklin, by the enlightened and free representatives of a great nation, in their decree of the eleventh June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

Signed

FRED. AUG. MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JOHN ADAMS,
*Vice-President of the United States and
President of the Senate.*

Approved, March the 2d, 1791.

Signed

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

curiosity, and often afford improvement. If there be talents, which we can never expect to equal; if there be a series of good fortune, which we can never expect to enjoy, we still need not lose the labor of our biographical inquiries. We may probably become acquainted with habits, which it may be prudent to adopt—and discover virtues, which we cannot fail to applaud. It will be easy for the reader to make a full application of these remarks in his contemplations upon the late celebrated **DR. FRANKLIN**. By his death one of the best lights of the world may be said to be extinguished. I shall not attempt any historical details of the life of this illustrious patriot and philosopher, as I have nothing further in view than to make a few comments upon the most striking traits of his character.

“Original genius was peculiarly his attribute. The native faculties of his mind qualified him to penetrate into every science: and his unremitting diligence left no field of knowledge unexplored. There were no limits to his curiosity. His inquiries were spread over the whole face of nature. But the study of man seemed to be his highest delight: and if his genius had any special bias, it lay in discovering those things that made men wiser and happier. As truth was the sole object of his researches, he was of course no sectary: and as reason was his guide, he embraced no system which that did not authorise. In short, he laid the whole volume of nature open before him, and diligently and faithfully perused it.

“Nor were his political attainments less conspicuous than his philosophical. The antients usually ranked good fortune among those circumstances of life which indicate merit. In this view **Dr. Franklin** is almost unrivalled, having seldom undertaken more than he accomplished. The world are too well acquainted with the events of his political career, to require, at this time, a particular enumeration of them. It may be presumed the historians of the American revolution will exhibit them in proper colors.

“If **Dr. Franklin** did not aspire after the splendor of eloquence, it was only because the demonstrative plainness of

his manner was superior to it. Though he neither loved political debate, nor excelled in it, he still preserved much influence in public assemblies, and discovered an aptitude in his remarks, on all occasions. He was not fond of taking a leading part in such investigations, as could never terminate in any degree of certainty. To come forward in questions, which, in their nature, are indefinite, and, in their issue, problematical, does not comport with the caution of a man, who has taught himself to look for demonstration. He reserved his observations, for those cases, which science could enlighten, and common sense approve. The simplicity of his style was well adapted to the clearness of his understanding. His conceptions were so bright and perfect, that he did not choose to involve them in a cloud of expressions. If he used metaphors, it was to illustrate, and not to embellish the truth. A man, possessing such a lively imagery of ideas, should never affect the arts of a vain rhetorician, whose excellence consists only in a beautiful arrangement of words.

“But whatever claims to eminence Dr. Franklin may have, as a politician, or a scholar, there is no point of light, in which his character shines with more lustre, than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things. Perhaps no man ever existed, whose life can, with more justice, be denominated useful.—Nothing ever passed through his hands, without receiving improvement: and no person ever went into his company, without gaining wisdom. His sagacity was so sharp, and his science so various, that, whatever might be the profession or occupation of those, with whom he conversed, he could meet every one upon his own ground. He could enliven every conversation with an anecdote, and conclude it with a moral.

“The whole tenor of his life was a perpetual lecture against the idle, the extravagant, and the proud. It was his principal aim to inspire mankind with a love of industry, temperance, and frugality; and to inculcate such duties as promote the important interests of humanity. He never wasted a moment of time, or lavished a farthing of money, in folly or dissipa-

tion. Such expenses as the dignity of his station required, he readily sustained, limiting them by the strictest rules of propriety. Many public institutions experienced his well-timed liberality; and he manifested a sensibility of heart by numerous acts of private charity.

“By a judicious division of time, Dr. Franklin acquired the art of doing every thing to advantage; and his amusements were of such a nature, as could never militate with the main objects of his pursuit. In whatever situation he was placed by chance or design, he extracted something useful for himself or others. His life was remarkably full of incident. Every circumstance of it turned to some valuable account. The maxims, which his discerning mind has formed, apply to innumerable cases and characters. Those who move in the lowest, equally with those who move in the most elevated rank in society, may be guided by his instructions. In the private deportment of his life, he, in many respects, has furnished a most excellent model. His manners were easy and accommodating, and his address winning and respectful. All, who knew him, speak of him as a most agreeable man; and all, who have heard of him, applaud him as a very useful one. A man so wise, and so amiable, could not but have many admirers, and many friends.”

The following are extracts from the will and codicil of Dr. Franklin:

* * * * *

“With regard to my books, those I had in France and those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows. My History of the Academy of Sciences in sixty or seventy volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honor to be president. My collection in folio of *Les Arts et les Metiers*, I give to the American Philosophical Society established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same *Arts et Metiers*, I give to the Library Company of Phi-

Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, I do hereby give to him, and such and so many of my books as I shall mark in the said catalogue with the name of my grandson *William Bache*, I do hereby give to him, and such as shall be marked with the name of *Jonathan Williams*, I hereby give to my cousin of that name.—The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson *William Temple Franklin*. My share in the Library Company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandson *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there: I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or those person or persons who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools, belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the select men of the said town shall seem meet.—Out of the salary that may remain due to me as president of the state, I do give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this state by an act of assembly shall appoint to receive the same in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable.

* * * * *

“During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and postmaster, a great many small sums became due to me for books, advertisements, postage of let-

letters, and other matters, which were not collected, when in 1757 I was sent by the assembly to England as their agent, and by subsequent appointments continued there till 1775, when on my return I was immediately engaged in the affairs of congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785, and the said debts not being demanded in such a length of time, are become in a manner obsolete, yet are nevertheless justly due. These, as they are stated in my great folio ledger E, I bequeath to the contributors of the Pennsylvania hospital, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now as I find make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands, as just debts, may however be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible that much must inevitably be lost, but I hope something considerable may be received. It is possible, too, that some of the parties charged may have existing old unsettled accounts against me, in which case the managers of the said hospital will allow and deduct the amount, or pay the balances if they find it against me.

* * * * *

“I request my friends Henry Hill, esquire, John Jay, esquire, Francis Hopkinson, esquire, and Mr. Edward Duffield of Benfield, in Philadelphia county, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

“I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be.”

* * * * *

Philadelphia, July 17, 1788.

CODICIL.

“I Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto.

It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical state there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our constitution; it was my intention, when I accepted the office of president to devote the appointed salary to some public uses; accordingly, I had, before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c. and in that will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the state, for the purpose of making Schuylkill navigable: but understanding since, that such sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come, and having entertained another idea that I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary, be sold towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors, is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to his posterity; this obligation does not lie on me who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family, for my making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar school established there: I have therefore already considered those schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the state of Massachusetts, for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years, and although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think

that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.—I have considered that among artizans good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful, even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns.—To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes, hereinafter mentioned and declared.—The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the select men, united with the ministers of the oldest episcopalian, congregational, and presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties in a bond with the applicants for the repayment of the monies so lent with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed, all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin, and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers

in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds. And if the number of appliers so entitled, should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished, so as to afford every one some assistance. These aids may therefore be small at first; but as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one tenth part of the principal; which sums of principal and interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.—And as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest, in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighboring or other towns in the said state of Massachusetts who may desire to have it, such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the proportions of the principal annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boston. If this plan is executed, and succeeds as is projected, without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, of which I would have the managers of the donations to the town of Boston, then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants; such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers, resorting thither for health or a temporary re-

sidence.—The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest in the manner above directed for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four million and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the state, not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions, and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose: and having considered that the covering its ground-plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities, I recommend that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing by pipes the water of Wissahiccon Creek into the town so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam; I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty-one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabi-

tants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts.—It is my desire that this institution should take place and begin to operate within one year after my decease, for which purpose due notice should be publicly given previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended, may make their respective applications; and I hereby direct my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the selectmen of Boston and the corporation of Philadelphia to receive and take charge of their respective sums of one thousand pounds each, for the purposes aforesaid.—Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject in such a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects proposed; I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at least accept the offer of these donations as a mark of my good will, a token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them, even after my departure. I wish indeed that they may both undertake to endeavor the execution of the project; because I think that though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting the whole, to be applied to the same purpose and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts, and if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith according to my will, made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.—I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription,

Benjamin
and
Deborah } Franklin.

178 . be placed over us both.

“ My fine crabtree walking-stick, with a gold head, curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend and the friend of mankind, general Washington.—If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it.—It was a present to me from that excellent woman Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it.”

* * * * *

Philadelphia, 23d June, 1789.

The following epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin for himself, when he was only *twenty three years of age*, as appears by the original (with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy.

[*Epitaph written 1728.*]

The Body
of

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
Printer,

(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,

And stript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.

But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more,
In a new, and more elegant edition,

Revised and corrected
by

THE AUTHOR.

END OF MEMOIRS.



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